



fifth estate



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NO BOMBS! NO BORDERS! ABOLISH ALL ARMIES! THEY'RE AT WAR!

They're at war! They appear nightly on television with their lying speeches trying to defend the growing slaughter. The body bags come home by the hundreds filled with the shattered remains of young men who swallowed the patriotic justifications for war, leaving grieving families, consoled only by the hollow speeches of politicians and generals.

The clash of empires becomes more threatening with each new "crisis" as the rulers press on with their arms race, willing to incinerate

the world in defense of their ideologies of death—capitalism and socialism.

The United States, born in blood and battle, slavery and genocide, moves toward its total realization as a garrison state, its economy and culture geared toward the exultation of the warrior and his technology of destruction. It matters little to the rulers that millions have expressed their desire to affirm life and to live free and in peace—there is no

place for our dreams in their schemes of power and domination.

Their wars are in progress; the blood is already flowing. We must declare peace by refusing to participate in their mad battle plans and by supporting every instance of indiscipline and rebellion. They have an immense apparatus to defend their empire and we have little else than our desires, but there is no longer any room for accommodation with the political state and its representatives.

The Euromissile Demonstrations & The Fate of the Earth

When millions of people fill the streets of Europe to protest the nuclear arms race, as occurred the weekend of October 22, 1983, only those most pessimistic about our prospects will fail to sit up and take notice. Whatever their shortcomings, the massive demonstrations against the installation of cruise and Pershing II missiles on European soil are an indication that human beings have not completely succumbed to the death instinct. And despite the fact that the demonstrators have failed in their objective to halt the Euromissiles, it is gratifying that they will continue undeterred, and in

up. As Michael T. Klare points out in a recent issue of *The Nation* magazine, conventional weaponry, including the new breed of "near nuclear" weapons, has attained such a level of destructiveness as to blur the distinction between conventional and nuclear war. (Thus some military experts argue that it is irrational to fear the use of battlefield nuclear weapons, since conventional weapons would wreak such destruction that nukes would not be a significantly more destructive force.) Likewise, the renewed mass production of chemical and biological weapons, as well as the commitment of billions of dollars to new



AD NOT SEXIST

FE Note: The following is a response to a criticism made by the Youth International Party in San Francisco that an ad by an anarchist commune which sought exclusively a female roommate was sexist. It appeared in the Nov. 19, 1981 FE.

FifthestateLand:

Three years ago a group of us in Columbia, Missouri formed a living collective in a conscious effort to put our own theories of anarchy into practice—i.e. to effect collective self-management of our own living space in a manner consistent with individual autonomy. Initially we had two three-bedroom houses. We decided that we wanted each of our households to be sexually integrated, and that it would be best to keep the overall number of men and women about equal. This works out to having two women and one man in one house and two men and one woman in the other...

Our collective is currently seeking a woman to move into the house I share with another man. To insure greater privacy for all concerned we plan to convert what is presently our kitchen into a bedroom this summer. As soon as this is finished, we hope to find a woman who is an anti-ideological, non-moralistic anarchist creator to join our collective. There are a number of reasons that we specifically seek a woman. The most important one as far as I'm concerned is quite simply that my housemate and I think it would be more satisfying to have a woman as the third member of our household than a man. (We've lived with both at various times.) You'd have to know us to understand why, but the reasons have nothing to do with hatred of men or desires of dominating women.

Secondly, there is the matter of collective policy. We seek to overcome the patriarchal customs of compulsory sex segregation. The distrust, fear, misunderstanding, fantasizing, and marrying of members of the opposite sex, which has served to maintain patriarchy, has been largely a product of dichotomous male/female subcultures. Men need opportunities to express positive "feminine" characteristics; women are increasingly empowering themselves with qualities which make them unladylike. We seek to create a living environment which helps support and encourage these tendencies.

Having said all this I have no desire to engage in a political polemic with the "mildly disturbed" Youth International Party of San Francisco. I am tired of people scoring petty political points on each other by righteously applying epithets to one another. If you can create something

draw them into the struggle in as many ways as we can conceive—and that means addressing *their* concerns, not imposing ours on them.

It doesn't work to criticize people for not being revolutionary when they haven't even gotten to the point of being determinately reformist yet. Preaching at people seldom changes minds. They have to learn themselves, and one way they'll learn is by engaging in reformist and reactive (anti- "Reaganist") struggles. Of course, it's inadequate in the long run. But there'll never be a long run if we don't learn to focus effectively on the short run. We have to crawl before we can walk, run, and fly.

Love and Rage,
Chris Nielsen
3925 NE 15th
Portland OR 97212

NO BLACKMAIL

Folks:

Virtually everyone recognizes the excessiveness of the nuke issue. Please! Let's not succumb to such blackmail & extortion. Eclipsed? Let's tango toward our apogee.

Por la cumbre,
Paula Z.
San Francisco

CAPITALIST APOLOGY

Dear Fifth Estate:

Originally I was going to write you a really angry letter, but as I had to do the washing up to clear a place for the typewriter, you've missed out on the bitter irony and sarcastic comments that went through my head while my hands slid through the suds. The source for the anger has been your article "Gift Exchange and the Imagination" (FE Jan. 19, 1982). In the past I've found your paper thought provoking, dynamic, etc. and in some ways an inspiration. That is why I take exception to the reactionary article you printed.

When I read "Capital is wealth taken out of circulation and laid aside to produce more wealth. Cattle devoured at a feast are gift, but cattle set aside to produce calves or milk are capital. All peoples have both and need both," I recognise the soft tones of the apologist for capitalism. Hyde's analysis of the gift is shallow, obscuring the way the gifts he talks about are both antagonistic and complimentary to commodities.

He makes much of the terrible consequences (death, hungry toads, storm damage) which befall those who convert the

ty" of cigarette smokers relates to a great extent through offering each other cigarettes).

This is the limit of Hyde's view of social transformation: the development of a gift-community alongside capitalism as an alternative to the overthrow of capitalism. He merely restates the views of a bohemian current that has surfaced in several forms (eg., hippies) over the last hundred and fifty years. This current has offered the world plenty of platitudes and its begging bowl, but it has been unable to confront itself and the world which begot it.

Dana Ferentes
London, England

FIGHT FEAR

Friends:

What we proclaim is the right to well-being: well-being for all! But, if plenty for all is to become a reality, capital must cease to be private property. Hence, there must be expropriation.

But expropriation means revolution. Also, if well-being for all is to become a reality, we must destroy the possibility of nuclear war. The State called "United States of America," among others, makes nuclear war possible. Hence, that State, among others, must be destroyed.

But that means revolution in North America.

So, don't write "NUCLEAR WAR ERUPTS" (see FE, Jan. 19, 1982) and play with the devil's testicles. Write: REVOLUTION ERUPTS IN NORTH AMERICA!

and fight the fear and despair the devils want all the people to feel.

Kropotkin
Warsaw NY

SPARTS/FUNGUS

Dear FE (aka dwinding band of anarchos):

Just got hold of your November issue to see what the flap with the Sparts was all about. Liked the article. Any further info on the Soviet nerve gas the Sparts dismiss as a fungus?

I know the Sparts are more mouth than action; so I doubt that you were concerned with their "See You at Kronstadt" headline. But if they ever should try to give you any real trouble, I and I suspect a good number of my friends out here would delight in joining you to "see them at Coyoacan."

A. Baron
Ypsilanti

(For a follow-up on the nerve gas controversy and the Coyoacan meeting, see page 11)

DETROIT SEEN

Thanks to those of you who so promptly answered your subscription renewal letters we sent out after the last issue. Thanks, also, for sending along your comments on the paper; it's always good to get your feelings about our effort, even if it's sometimes critical. And a special appreciation to those who contributed money beyond the price of their subscription. If you haven't mailed your renewal letter back yet and intend to, please don't make us have to spend more money on postage; it could much better be spent elsewhere. Also, this is your last opportunity to subscribe at the old rate of \$4.

Thank you as well to our Italian comrades in Florida who raised a goodly sum for the world libertarian press at several picnics this winter and who sent us a portion of it. Using their activity as an example, the Fifth Estate sponsored a benefit concert at the end of January for some of the same publications and raised \$300.00 which was split thusly: Fifth Estate, \$75; Work & Pay, San Francisco, \$25; Rivista Anarchia, Milano, Italy, \$25; L'Internazionale, Genoa, Italy, \$25; Black Flag/Anarchist Black Cross, London, \$50; Ann Arbor Anarchist Print Co-op, Ann Arbor, Michigan, \$40; Open Road, Vancouver, B.C., \$25; and Protest and Survive, Detroit anti-nuke group, \$35. We hope our successful event, modeled after the tireless efforts of the Italian comrades, will spur others to undertake similar events in their own areas. And please be advised, this is not intended to get you raising funds for us in particular; there are numerous publications, political prisoners, anti-nuke efforts or best of all, your own project, that need funding.



P. Solis with proceeds from libertarian benefit.

Times are tough in the Motor City where it's a depression, not a recession, and you can see it in the knots of men

a history of shooting suspects. This time his bullet-proof vest failed him. More victims in the battle for the crumbs.



More economic crime: As of April 1, all children under the age of four are required by Michigan law to be belted into a child car seat. This may seem fine to those of us who cringe every time we see a car roaring along with a toddler leaning on the dashboard just waiting to become a flying projectile, but this turns out to be yet another burden on the parents. The kid-size car seats cost between \$35 and \$75 so if you have a number of small children and little money, you apparently have the choice of leaving the family at home or watching out for the flashing beanies...

Poor E. Dale Lee, the now ex-editor of Wayne State University's campus paper, who had a penchant for racist and amateurish journalism, got bounced from his job for "obscenity." Lee apparently got a hold of our Nov. 19, 1981 issue excoriating him for his reactionary views, and saw something he really liked, for a few days later he ran a banner headline in the school paper shouting "FUCK AUTHORITY"—this from a self-proclaimed lover of the FBI! Lee's liberal detractors on the school's publication committee seized upon this as an excuse to dump him from the paper and left E. mumbling about how he had made a mistake in printing it and that he had read it in a "leftist newspaper." No excuses; good-bye, E.

Rock Against Racism? Well, not always. The fifteen Nazi punks who were chased off the streets of Ann Arbor March 27 by a crowd of 2,000 were sporting shields

Letters to the Fifth Estate

Joy To Read

The following writer is one of the Vancouver Five. See our coverage of the start of their trials elsewhere in this issue

Dear Fifth Estate:

I've just finished reading the Summer 1983 issue of the paper which you sent me. As usual, I found lots to think about in it, and it is a joy to read many ideas that I am more than less in agreement with. Zerzan was thought provoking, but I especially liked the article on economic recovery, and the replies to the letter by Ron Haley.

In terms of the short piece on our case, we really appreciate the coverage and support that you have been giving us. Just a thought regarding the Woodie Guthrie lyric: I wonder if such "clearing" type ideas really serves any constructive purpose? As well, we have been directly indicted and our first trial begins Sept. 6th.

It is expected to take about four months. It will be primarily a legal battle, through which the major legal issues regarding admissibility of evidence, house bugging legality, etc. will be decided. The outcome of these major legal factors will determine how we conduct our defense in the remaining four trials.

In resistance and solidarity, with primitivist longings,
Brent
Vancouver 5
(Organization listed for identification purposes only)

More Is Lost

Brave People:

I read your lead article (FE Spring 1983, "Fifth Estate Tool of the Year: The Sledgehammer") and it reminds me of B. Traven's novel of the 1910 Revolution in "Yucatan" where the people set out to destroy all written material because property records were kept thereon and used to deprive the commoners of their

lessness one notch further into this deep present.

This moment is most sacred and I look about at all eyes so as to share my next act. I sing out loud a single tone, timeless, and gouge long fingernails deep into my chest. My fingers clasp about a pulsating muscle, and though it hurts, I know the pain is without consequence. Into the stew of rhythm I cast my heart. It was but an appendage of time.

I stand now before your eyes, my mouth open singing an eternal monotone, my heart boiling in a stew of rhythm, and my excitement climbing ever deeper, deeper into this present. Between my legs I feel a throb. My eyes begin to glisten. I know as I look into all of your eyes that this ceremony has not yet climaxed. Our rhythm bubbles—my heart bobs, time is stewed, yet a throb still pounds. Into the eternal monotone I squeeze the words: "time, history" as the throb—throbs on.

This ceremony is now forever; forever without time, forever without consequences, without rhythm, without heart. All of that is stewing in the pot. But as yet this stew has no taste.

I see all of your noses come forward. Forward towards the smell of the throb.

Once, when there was a past, I might have rebelled at noses so close to my sex. But now there is no need to step back and no back to step into. I accept all of your noses into this ceremony. My words are scissors. Just a few snips and the stew fills with odor.

One last snip—my sex—to quell the throb.

Algis
San Francisco CA

FE Sidesteps

Dear Fifth Estate:

This is in response to the exchange last issue (see FE Summer 1983) between Ron Haley and the FE in the letters column.

I think that Ron made several important mistakes in his letter, but that he was sincerely and respectfully trying to address some questions to the FE which needed addressing. They still need addressing, which is to say that the FE, while managing to distort Ron's position in several instances in order to make it (and him) look bad, answered some of his questions only partially, and neatly sidestepped others.

I agree with Ron the Ivan Illich's thesis that women's oppression dates from the rise of capitalism is dubious history. However, he was wrong to say that "the hidden ideological thrust of such a position is to call for return to the allegedly separate but equal status of affairs which each sex enjoyed 'dignity' in its respective station." Certainly one can believe that women's oppression dates from the rise of capitalism without having any such

nocracy; for if one is to decide that scarcely "necessarily" leads to class division, then mustn't one also decide, given the immensity of the dilemma posed by technocracy (as detailed repeatedly and eloquently in the FE), that today we are "necessarily" headed for environmental destruction, nuclear war and perhaps the extinction of life on earth?

However, instead of confining itself to a constructive criticism of this statement, the FE complained about Ron having quoted Marx in the first place, which he is said to have done only in order to invoke Marx's dubious "authority," when his true motive was more likely to help clarify an idea which he wished to be judged on its own terms.

Many anarchists possess an automatic antagonistic reaction towards anyone who suggests that Marx might have been right about something. The antagonistic reaction may come from legitimate hurts and angers, but nonetheless is a form of elitism, of ideological nationalism where the home nationalists are proud and patriotic citizens of the country. Not Marx and at all costs defend themselves against the sub-human enemy, of ideological religiosity in which Marx, being totally evil, is identified with the Devil.

Ron made an attempt to distinguish between "technocracy" ("technology as a system of domination," as the FE put it) and "technology" itself, or the actual stuff of technology: machines. He agrees that technocracy is bad, but asks: is there, in the FE's view, any such thing as "appropriate technology," meaning appropriate machines? The FE answers basically by saying: We are against technocracy. This is what I mean by sidestepping.

Why the reluctance on the FE's part to answer this question? The answer, I believe, has to do with a larger question which Ron also raised in his letter, though not as clearly as he might have. This has to do with "program," with ideas about both where we should be headed and how we might be able to get there. The FE has said that some of its critics are unable to think outside the context of a program.

However, an underlying question (perhaps the underlying question) in Ron's letter (and no doubt in the criticisms of many of these other critics) is that: Is the FE able to think inside the context of a program? There is a point beyond which analysis of badness ceases to be done for its practical value in helping us move forward and becomes instead a narcissistic pursuit. FE's "endless" analysis of badness accompanied by so little analysis of how the knowledge contained therein can be applied to present activities makes many of us wonder whether or not it has gone beyond this point. Where should we be headed, and how might we get there from here? If "the living tissue of community" is what we should want, how might it

say that just because you critique technological and industrial society does not mean that you affirm primitivism or anything else. What do you affirm? Your critique sometimes has the feel of a radical religious critique in that it appears to reject the present completely without finding a single spot of ground on which one can stand in order to change it. Thus the present becomes hopelessly contaminated and beyond redemption. The religious critique offers the blessings of post-mortem joys and you offer nothing, but with respect to the present you are on equal footing. In the end, both are conservative because both have no reasons for changing one's life. As I said, your critique sometimes appears to be open to such a charge. (I'm being careful so as to avoid your scathing comments.) So my question is: What about the present do you affirm? Where do you, for yourselves, locate the seeds that can grow and burst forth into new social life?

In (off and on) solidarity,
M. Logan
Fredonia, New York

E. B. Maple Responds: Trying to avoid scathing comments are you? Actually, letters like the two preceding ones always puzzle me. I assume that reading this publication means their authors have an abiding interest in anti-authoritarian ideas, that they hate the political state as well as its functionaries, so why are we always asked to take up the role of politicians and describe the wallpaper in the diningroom of the decentralized, communal village? Would they actually feel better if we had a program, even though we have said continually that all programs, by their nature of emanating from a central source outward to the "masses," are inherently authoritarian and conservative? Do they really want us to make a laundry list of what machines we will allow after the revolution?

Rather than asking us questions, why don't the two of you tell us what you affirm and how you think we might "get from here to there" or even what you think "there" is? Please do us a favor and read our staff box on page two; really, we mean it—we're a group of friends putting out this paper, not a political group or organizing center or "voice" of anyone other than ourselves and don't want to be.

There's almost an "If you're so smart, how come you're not rich" flavor to both letters. Although Michael's ideas of living on the junk of the present and David's final questions are good ones, let us be the first to admit that we don't have the answers to the problems which confront all of us. We hope we're involved in an intellectual process that shreds the mystifications of this society and leads us to begin the kind of assertive actions in the real world

think it is still possible to distinguish just what women (and all people) lost in the transition to modern society. Hence the link to Elshtain: her argument was that, all "theory" aside, she could see in her grandmother (who grew up in a supposedly rigid and oppressive—from the perspective of the modern sensibility—peasant community) a strength of character and anti-capitalist conviction missing in most of her contemporaries. Doubtless Elshtain romanticizes a bit herself, but her point remains: what is it that is overlooked by those who indiscriminately characterize traditional communities as oppressive of the individual?

As Elshtain reminds us, and as every libertarian should know, most radical social movements have been undertaken by people who either lived in or retained a strong memory of community. Such people have believed that they were defending (or returning to) a way of life superior to that which was encroaching upon them. It's irrelevant that in some cases people's memories were selective, that they created the myth of a golden age out of their collective past—those memories and ideals gave them the emotional sustenance and vitality necessary to resist power. This is no more obvious than in the case of Spanish anarchism, which flourished among small villages in rural Spain and among industrial workers who had not yet been subjected to the culture-shattering experience, over several generations, of forced industrial labor, and who consequently retained memories of pre-industrial life. In fact, it would not be far wrong to state that the closer their proximity to non-industrial societies, the greater a people's ability to resist and rebel.

Hillman complains that I sidestep the question of whether there exists such a thing as "appropriate technology." If by this he means do there exist forms of technics that humans can understand and control, rather than being controlled by them, the answer is: yes, appropriate technology exists. But this is only half the question. The other half is: appropriate to what? While I'm all in favor of experiments in small-scale technics, no-till farming, and the like, it seems to me that to place such practical questions at the center of our discourse limits us in subtle ways.

As E. B. Maple reasons, such a focus is potentially authoritarian and almost certainly conservative (in the bad sense). It can also be downright banal, as was the absurd blueprint in a recent issue of Synthesis calling for the formation of locally, regionally, and continentally federated communes comprising exactly 1500 (if memory serves) people. The manner by which this figure is arrived at presumably represents the author's liking

PROPERTY RECORDS were kept thereon and used to deprive the campesino of his land.

You are right, there must be resistance and the destruction of computers/word processors. The problem again is the use of these things, for they could be used to store more poetry and writings of freedom than any one person can remember. On the whole, however, more is lost by computers than humanity gains due to centralized technology.

Howard Johnson
Los Angeles

A New Rhythm

To The Fifth Estate:
Against Rhythm, Hearts and Sex: A Tribute to John Zerzan's "Annulment of Time and History" FE Summer 1983

And now that time and history are no more, let me help in the annihilation of a few remaining encumbrances until now associated with the aforesaid. First let me burn away rhythm, that mechanistic reification of fluctuating periodicity drummed up by civilization. Without time rhythm ceases to exist. Since one is defined by the other, and the other no longer is, let us all gather and symbolically rejoice around a new stew of rhythm, and boil it all away.

Every ceremony centers about! Lest we remain hungry in this celebration of time's fall, and whilst the pot filled with rhythm is still brewing, let me use this occasion to raise our ecstatic state of time,

fifth estate

The Fifth Estate is a co-operative project, published by a group of friends who are in general, but not necessarily complete agreement with the articles herein. Each segment of the paper represents the collective effort of writing, typesetting, lay-out and proofreading.



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rise of capitalism without having any such hidden agenda. Perhaps Illich has such an agenda, perhaps not; but this has no bearing on the validity of the historical thesis in question.

This was distortion on Ron's part, but the FE made many such distortions of Ron's position. For instance, in their critique of Ron, the FE said, "It is...degrading to women to describe their plight as total, continual enslavement by patriarchy since the dawn of human society," when Ron had made no such description. He merely stated that he thought the origins of women's oppression pre-dated capitalism and took place in so-called "primitive" society.

He said nothing about "total, continual enslavement." He can certainly hold his position of the origins of patriarchy and still believe that, for example, there were non-patriarchal primitive societies, that history is full of great achievements by women, that even in patriarchy the oppression of women is not total since they continually rise above it. Can't he?

It happens that I disagree with the statement of Bookchin and Marx which Ron quoted: "Without (a material basis of abundance) want is generalized, and with want the struggle for necessities and all the old shit would necessarily be reproduced." It's the "necessarily" which troubles me: it is here that perhaps Ron can be criticized for being "degrading" to people, or, at least, for being pessimistic about human possibility in a way I don't think he can afford to be. It seems from this that Ron has totally succeeded in following his own suggestion and combining a critique of scarcity with a critique of tech-

nicity. The living tissue of community is what we should want, how might it now be created on a large scale? What do the lessons of "primitive" societies teach us to do now in the present overpopulated world? What place would appropriate technology (if such a thing exists) have in a more ideal society, and what place does it have in attempts to move towards one?

It's possible to avoid all these kinds of questions, but I see no point in doing so.

David Hillman
Portland, Oregon

Do Odious Tasks

Dear Fifth Estate,

A number of times, the last time in Maple's reply to Hayley, you assume that nobody would like to go into a mine if they had a real choice, or nobody would spend some free afternoon on some assembly line, etc. Now, I'm not too sure of that. I'm not sure whether I would outright deny that assumption, but I'm not sure I would agree with it. The reason is I can imagine, I think, situations in which I would willingly do some things that in the present context are odious, oppressive tasks. For example, post-technological tribes are emerging, learning to live on the junk of the present. Our group has settled close to what used to be a coal mine. Winters are cold and long, so we use whatever we can find for fuel. Some of us, when the urge hits us, go down to get out some coal. We pile it up outside and whoever needs some, takes some.

Another thing you said in that reply bothers me. You (or whoever) appears to

kind of assertive actions in the real world in which all of the questions you both pose will be answered.

Until then, all dreams are accepted. You tell me yours and I'll tell you mine, but please, no programs!

Bob B. responds: While several of the questions raised by David Hillman and M. Logan have been treated before in the pages of the FE, they are asked again and again by our readers. It's often hard to know whether we are failing to make ourselves clear, or whether the questioners simply missed previous discussions of these issues. Whatever the case, the persistence with which these questions are raised is sufficient justification for trying once more to answer them.

David Hillman is quite right to point out that I erred in attributing to Ron Haley the position that women have always and completely been enslaved by patriarchy. I presumptuously assumed that Ron's examples of pre-capitalist barbarities were meant to illustrate the argument that only with the Enlightenment and capitalist society have people (especially women) discovered the realm of freedom. Although I am still unsure what Ron was trying to say, I concede that this is not necessarily what he meant.

However, I still stand by my previous statement that Ivan Illich is not arguing that women's oppression dates from the rise of capitalism. My impression is that he confines himself to stating that women's lives were diminished and degraded in unprecedented ways by industrialization. Without romanticizing or wishing to return to peasant communities, I

presumably represents the author's liking for symmetry rather than actual consideration of conditions in various localities and regions:

But such a focus also encourages the assumption—widespread in our hyper-rational and instrumental environment—that all social problems are amenable to technical/practical solutions. (This attitude infects most of those who march under the banner of appropriate technology.) These people promote their hobbyhorse as a panacea, completely oblivious to the fact that capitalism is also interested in developing and promoting appropriate technologies and lifestyles.

Preoccupation with practical/technical matters is itself a kind of program, screening out other desires that are fighting to surface: the need to confront the state, the need to live exuberantly and harmoniously with each other and the rest of the natural world. Although not mutually exclusive, the realm of desire must be allowed to fully emerge before practical questions can be worked out in their entirety.

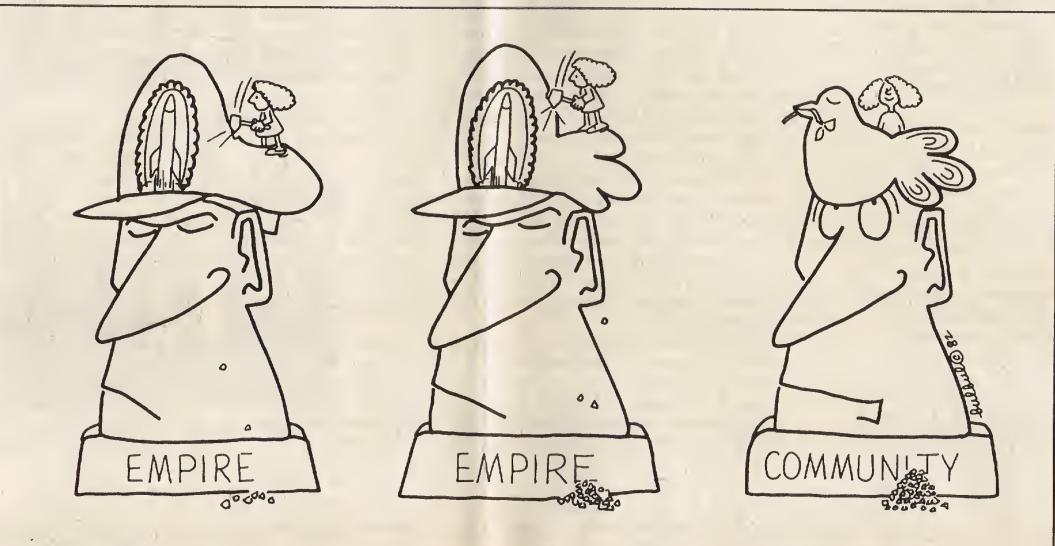
To be sure, the most radical currents in the anarchist, feminist, and ecology movements partake in some measure of these concerns. Let's not circumscribe their desires with ill-conceived, necessarily flawed attempts at totalization. The materials free people choose to fashion will reflect how they choose to live—and this is not strictly a practical question.

Review Anti-Semitic?

Dear Comrades at the FE:

I wish to take profound exception to E.B. Maple's "review" (an essay, really) "3 Books on Israel," published in the Summer 1983 FE. Comrade Maple's essay leaves much to be desired as an "anarchist analysis" of the Middle Eastern reality, and seems to fall into the current marxist fadism which forsakes an internationalist perspective here as elsewhere in an effort to gain favor with emergent Third World nationalist movements, however reactionary. Barely half a paragraph makes a gesture at criticism of the raving reactionary nationalism so transparently obvious within the PLO—at least as reactionary as the rightist Zionist parties, and, while seemingly endless abuse is heaped with hindsight on the pre-war Zionist efforts to ransom, smuggle or steal away as many Jews from Nazi Europe as possible in advance of the coming holocaust (termed "venal collaboration" by Maple), not one word is mentioned of the strong and close outright collaboration between Nazi Germany and Arab nationalists of that time in general and the

Continued on Page 4





Some of the 5000 who marched in Paris Sept. 3 to protest the police suppression of Radio Libertaire.
—photo F. Arcos

Radio Libertaire Back On Air After Police Raid

Shouts of joy greeted the sounds of Radio Libertaire's return to the airwaves Sept. 3 after having been shut down by a police raid six days previously.

At 5:45 am on Sunday morning, Aug. 28, the Paris premises of the anarchist radio station, Radio Libertaire, were broken into by police, the equipment trashed, the broadcasters arrested and kicked. The forces of "law and order" were experienced at this work, having silenced fourteen other "free" radio stations the previous weekend.

R-L and several other stations had been denied an assigned frequency in May by the Socialist/Communist government (see Fifth Estate Summer 1983), but most, including the anarchist broadcasters had continued transmitting without official approval. The authorities charged that the "illegal" broadcasts were creating *cacophony* on the air waves. However, it is suspected it was crasser political reasons which motivated the Socialist government to move against its anarchist critics.

French Anarchist Federation comrades and supporters of Radio Libertaire understandably had feared and anticipated such an attack. A July issue of the anarchist weekly *Le Monde Libertaire* carried a warning that the "socialist/communist government" was likely to attempt to rid itself of the "voice without master" during the Summer holidays when many Parisians are vacationing.

Radio Libertaire did maintain a radio

mentary alert system. One preliminary warning was given 15 minutes before the attack but by the time the cops' attack was clearly imminent, the riot police had cordoned off the area and supporters could not get access to the building.

Agents and technicians of France's Palace of Justice proceeded to demolish the front door, dump the transportable equipment into a van to be carried off, dismantle the transmitter, and sever the antenna cable.

An account in the Sept. 3 *Le Monde Libertaire* reports two minor consolations: another free radio station was able to broadcast part of the sacking of the station because one of the R-L announcers was able to take the telephone off the hook; and the dismantling of one transmitter was delayed because it carried a sign warning "Danger! Transmitter Mined!".

On Sept. 3 a demonstration with 5,000 participants protested the government's attacks. R-L supporters were joined by those of other banned stations.

The French Anarchist Federation and supporters of R-L are now trying to raise money to replace the confiscated and ruined equipment. Most recently a successful two-day festival was held which was widely attended. Donations for Radio Libertaire may be sent to 145 rue Amelot, 75011 Paris France. R-L also encourage protests to the Communications Minister and French Parliament.

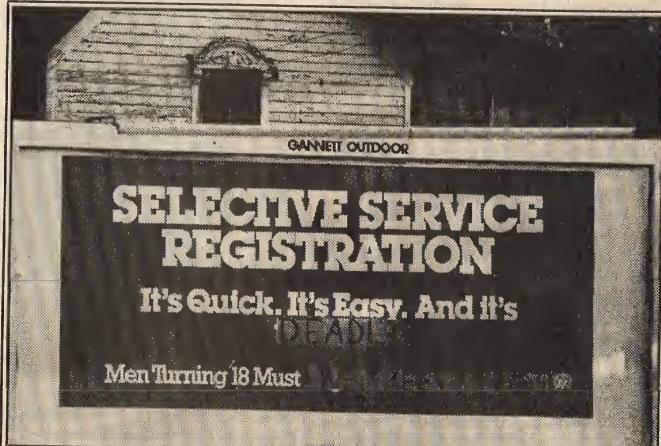
The birthdays seem to be coming around faster and faster. This November marks the 18th anniversary of the Fifth Estate's appearance as an "underground" paper in 1965. Several of us were recently looking at some back issues and smiling at the lavish language they contained—"ALL POWER TO THE BROTHERS AND SISTERS WHO UNDERSTAND THE REVOLUTION AND WHO ARE WORKING TO MAKE IT HAPPEN." But we were also marveling at how well much of it has stood the test of time. Is it too early to prepare for our twentieth anniversary celebration?

As usual, thanks to all of you who sent a donation with your subscription renewals or book orders—it's that extra bit which keeps us alive. And, our other usual request: Please send back your subscription renewal forms as soon as possible, so we don't have to send out a second mailing to you. If you've ignored two renewal mailings, you probably won't be reading this.

One of the more horrible sights at our office is to see piles of Fifth Estates which go undistributed. We would encourage anyone interested in doing free distribution to write us for a bundle of papers. If you give them away free, we'll charge you only postage (send what you can afford and we'll mail the number of papers that amount covers). We're also always looking for stores and individuals who want to sell the paper. We send them on a consignment basis and you pay for only what you sell and keep half of the proceeds.

During the Vietnam war era, the Fifth Estate sent hundreds of free copies of each issue to anti-war GIs in Southeast Asia who in turn passed them around their unit. We featured regular news of the wide-spread dissatisfaction, indiscipline and even mutinies among the armed forces in hopes of doing as much as possible to aid those men who were unwilling to be part of the US-sponsored slaughter. Since it now looks as though war is once again on the horizon (the shooting's already begun in Lebanon), we thought we'd give a reduced rate to servicemen and women with the hope to encourage them to receive as much independent information as possible to combat the official propaganda. Subs to GIs will be appropriately available at the prisoner rate of \$2.00 until hostilities begin; free after that.

DETROIT SEEN



Before its "improvement" on Sept. 14, the above sign read "It's Quick. It's Easy. And it's the Law." And, "Men Turning 18 must register at the Post Office." We like it better this way.

—photo Buster Brown

It was to be a carefully planned, well-executed, swift attack on the offending billboard, but as the effort quickly became an impromptu Three Stooges Affair, one member of the raiding party allowed, "It was still great fun." The idea was to hit the (un)Selective Slavery System billboard, one of the many which have gone up around the Detroit area, in under a minute, using a pre-painted sign to be affixed with Pet Milk and a paint roller. The assault began with posted look-outs stationed, but

these are certainly the days when we should be publishing a weekly not a quarterly newspaper, given the speed of current events. Our subscription offer to GIs, mentioned above, has already been outdated in the few weeks since it was first pasted down here. Free subs to soldiers in Lebanon and Grenada are now in order, but obviously not as a reward for doing imperialism's dirty deeds, but hopefully to encourage a refusal to commit similar acts in the future.

We took a stab at anti-war activism during the week of October 14-22 as part of the world-wide protests against the Euromissiles (see page 1). Not wishing to become organizers or the central committee for an anti-state/anti-nuke movement, we restricted our publicity to the area around our office and had as a focus General Motors, a major war contractor.

rapidly fell apart as the sign, dripping with gooey evaporated milk, fell back upon itself and over the sign-guerrillas leaving some of those concerned ready to quit. "Let's get out of here," said one discouraged member, "It's hopeless." But stouter hearts prevailed and soon the "improvement" was completed although the 3-4 minutes spent there felt like 20 to those up on the sign. Plans are now to move on to the other signs we are told.

rough's world headquarters, another war contractor, and then on to the General Motors Building where we found every entrance barred by cops that outnumbered us two to one.

We also sponsored a "Festival for Universal Disarmament" which was well received and featured two nights of poetry and music.

Our initial disappointment at the rather small turn-out for our march changed some what after attending the official Nuclear Freeze Demo the next day, October 22, which had some 800 in attendance. Somehow the experience of marching to a park in order to listen to the same, boring leftist speeches, made our small march of friends to express the fear and outrage we feel about the arms race seem more meaningful to us in many ways than the larger, more fragmented demo.

isians are vacationing.

Radio Libertaire did maintain a rudi-

See Bits of the World in Brief, page 8, for latest update on Radio-Libertaire.

Trial Begins for Vancouver 5

The Vancouver Five are activists from British Columbia who are currently facing 17 counts of sabotage and conspiracy. Besides being charged with destroying an environmentally damaging hydroelectric generator and firebombing a porn shop, they also are accused of a massive bomb attack on a Toronto cruise missile plant. Our report is from a Toronto supporter of the Five.

The Vancouver Five have undergone a tedious month in the courtroom as the first of their trials has proceeded as far as jury selection. The pretrial motions which preceded the actual trial dealt with the whole issue of "Trial by Media." The defense presented a very strong case that media coverage immediately following the arrests on January 14th severely prejudiced the chances that the Five would be able to receive a fair trial.

A survey drawn up by New York sociologist Jay Schulman and conducted by a volunteer staff found that 59 per cent of the people polled in the area from which the jury would be selected considered the Five to be guilty. In addition 53 per cent of those polled had derogatory or invidious opinions of the Five. Schulman has previously worked for the defense in cases such as the Attica trials, Wounded Knee and the recent Brinks' robbery trials in New York State.

Two other "expert" witnesses corroborated Schulman's testimony. The Judge of course was not about to give in

age protests to the Communications Ministry and French embassies.

See Bits of the World in Brief, page 8, for latest update on Radio-Libertaire.



free the vancouver five

to the defense's demand for a stay of proceedings. He did however, in what seems to be a sop, allow the defense to question potential jury members. This procedure is very unusual in Canadian courts. The defense is actually quite satisfied with the selection of the jury. They were given great leeway in being able to reject jurors they did not like. The significance of this cannot be determined until they actually give their verdict.

There has been the usual petty harassment of the defendants. A glass partition separates the men from the women. This hampers them in trying to develop a joint defense. Brent Taylor was severely chastised at the beginning of the trial for trying to communicate around the barrier. The court staff had also denied the Five use of a common room below the court to collectively meet with their lawyers. This was done on the grounds that "unauthorized physical contact" had taken place. The judge ordered that access to the room be restored but on the condition that no contact take place. This does show that consciously or not, the state tries to break down the emotional character of the defendants.

One main debate surrounding support for the trial is the whole question of "civil liberties." However much we might know that civil liberties are a rather tenuous concept if the state is out to get you, the demand of a "fair trial" keeps surfacing. It is without a doubt the one issue in the case with which one can most appeal to others. Yet it raises the obvious problem of what if the Five are convicted in what appears to be a fair trial. Will these concerned citizens then conclude that justice has been done? Does one contribute to the fraud of trials?

If one wants to raise civil liberties issues one could select virtually anyone appearing down at the country court house. Undoubtedly, they probably had their civil liberties violated in some way or another. Yet the state's ability to stomp on people is more held in check when they are aware that they are being observed. This is a real dilemma facing support groups; that of watering down the politics in order to appeal to a larger number of people. No easy solutions have offered themselves.

until hostilities begin, free after that. Since the U.S. Post Office demands we put out four FEs a year to meet our "quarterly" status, you can look for another issue before this year's end. Any-one thinking about submitting articles or graphics, please get them in fast.

This problem also affects the way in which the Five conduct themselves at the trials. One possibility is for them to refuse absolutely to have anything to do with the charade of justice. This comes however at a very high price. It guarantees maximum convictions and sentences. The other possibility is to play the game, raise civil liberties aspects, use lawyers and try to cut the losses. These are very difficult questions involving principles and many years of one's life.

The Five face four trials altogether in B.C. Then charges arising out of the bombing of Litton will probably follow. This first trial clears up many of the spe-

cifically criminal charges, B&Es (burglary), possession of restricted weapons, auto theft, possession of stolen goods, etc. This trial will go well into the new year. The second trial will involve the firebombing of the Red Hot Video outlets. Ann Hansen is preparing her own defense on this charge.

The road ahead for the Five promises to be a difficult one, and support for their efforts is crucial. Financial contributions for the defense work should be directed to the FREE THE VANCOUVER FIVE DEFENSE GROUP, Account 91740-1, c/o CCEC Credit Union, 205

until to us in many ways than the larger, more fragmented demonstration. Next time we plan to march, maybe we'll try to reach more of our friends and spend less time in leafletting strangers. Hopefully, the "strangers" will assemble their friends and march with us.

E. 6th Ave., Vancouver, B.C. V5T 1J7 Canada.

Anyone wishing to write to any of the 5 incarcerated—Julie Belmas, Ann Hansen, Gerry Hannah, Doug Stewart, and Brent Taylor—can do so by addressing their letter to Oakalla Prison, Drawer "O", Burnaby, B.C. V5H 3N4 Canada.

Up to date information on the trials of the Five and efforts to aid in their defense may be obtained from the Free the Vancouver Five Defense Group, P.O. Box 48296, Bentall Station, Vancouver BC V7X 1A1.

Repression Continues in Toronto

On June 13th the Toronto Metropolitan Police raided a home of several people active in producing the Bulldozer prison support paper and in supporting the Vancouver Five. Ostensibly seeking links to the Litton bombing, a series of charges were brought against the residents. Details of the raid appeared in the Summer 1983 Fifth Estate. The following is a report on recent developments.

We have recovered our balance after the raid on Bulldozer and the Vancouver Five Support Group. Issue No. 6 was published and mailed out in mid-August without any further problems coming from the state. It is most likely that the threatened charge of Seditious Libel will not be heard from again while it is still too early to know whether any charges will come down around the bombing of the Litton plant.

The charge of procuring an abortion, and procuring instruments for an abortion still stand against Colleen Crosbie. A preliminary trial was set for October 24th but it has now been held off. In spite of our best intentions, we are becoming embroiled in the civil liberties aspect of the case. The Crown has asked that the information, given to the Judge in order to get the search warrant, be sealed in the name of national security. Without having this information it is difficult to prepare a defense on the abortion charges. Moreover, there is the

broader issue of the right of access to the information. It is very frustrating spending time and money fighting for civil rights that we know don't mean much when push comes to shove, but such is the nature of the legal system that we must follow it through.

A total of eighteen criminal charges have been laid against people doing support work for the Vancouver Five in Toronto since the beginning of May. Abie Weisfeld faces two counts of welfare fraud for a situation in which the normal procedure would be to simply ask for repayment. Brian Burch, who recently did



a forty day fast for peace was charged with assaulting police and possession of a dangerous weapon during flag raising ceremonies at the provincial legislature on Canada Day, July 1st. A peace camp which had been running on the site for nearly two months had just been closed down the previous evening resulting in fourteen trespass charges. In addition, Burch faces a charge of trespass, Crosbie faces two theft charges involved with the alleged abortion equipment and four face possession of marijuana charges after the June 13th raid.

The Crown has said that no wire tap or room bug evidence would be used at Crosbie's preliminary. Two people, Deyarmond and Jim Campbell from the raided house, were given notices that their conversations were subject to electronic interception. This allows for both room bugs or phone taps or any other means possible. The notices must be given after the warrant authorizing such interceptions has expired. Notices must be given in order for any taped material to be used in criminal proceedings, but do not have to be given if the wire taps are placed there simply for information gathering by the Security Service.

The state still has all the material taken from the raid. We were allowed to xerox anything that we wanted including the mailing list but there has been no indication as to when such material will be

Continued on Page 8

Does Israel Deserve Special Criticism?

Continued from Page 2

Palestinian leadership in particular.

Practically every anti-imperialist group in the world of that period from Anwar Sadat and the Egyptian nationalists to the Irish Republican Army were talking to the Nazis during the period when Germany's British enemies still maintained imperialist rule over a substantial portion of the globe. Obviously, also, the motivation of Jewish groups of the time, Zionist or otherwise, were somewhat different than, say, the IRA, on the eve of the destruction of European Jewry when virtually no existing nation-state wanted an influx of Jews, including this country.

In his efforts to condemn Zionism, Maple even stoops to condemning or at least dismissing the kibbutzim of Israel as "socialist trappings" though all students of libertarian communism know that, with the exception of a few scattered experiments such as Twin Oaks in Virginia and possibly the Ghandian-inspired village system in (thoroughly statist and militarist) India, the kibbutzim, particularly those affiliated with the radical Zionist left party Mapam, constitute the closest approximation to pure noncoercive communism in

the world today. But "reviews" like that of Comrade Maple, so typical of the authoritarian left press, always seem to omit mention that there even is a radical Zionist left, committed at least in theory to a class analysis of the Middle East, rather than a religious or nationalist analysis.

The truth is, that an anarchist critique of Zionism as such must rest on the foundation of opposition to statism, period. Israel has an admirable system of free communes. Israel is proportionately the most solar nation in the world. Israel's union federation has the closest thing to participatory democracy in the shop of any labor federation in the world, and, considering that Israel's total population is only a little larger (Arab and Jewish) than the city I live in, it has a model "town hall" democracy in its parliament. . . .

BUT ISRAEL IS A STATE, and anarchists are and should be opposed to any and all states, be they imperialist giants like the U.S. and the "Soviet" union, or client states like Israel, or third world nations like Libya or Nigeria. Arguments about "who is indigenous to Palestine" are of only historical interest; manifestly both Arabs and Jews have long histories

"Somehow the predictable statist abuses of 'the Jewish State' are condemned somewhat disproportionately. This is what disturbs and alarms me.

there.

Arguments about expansionism, atrocities and abuses of individuals and groups by the state should ring a bit differently in anarchist ears; we do not expect—in fact, assume that all nation states will commit atrocities, will abuse liberty and will tend to engage in expansionist wars? Israel is certainly no exception. By its structure and past actions, the PLO gives no indication that, were it to come to power, it would act any different. . . .

What bothers me is that, in meeting this ugly truth about our enemy, the State, from an anarchist-internationalist perspective all this is to be expected, but it seems that, in the eyes of some including Comrade Maple, "some are more equal than others" and somehow the predictable statist abuses of "the Jewish state" are condemned somewhat disproportionately. . . . This is what disturbs and alarms me

most about Maple's essay and others current along similar lines. One should not leap to hasty conclusions about antisemitism, latent or otherwise in such cases, but any enemy of bigotry should always at least raise a cautionary note when the behavior of one group seems judged by a "different standard" than the general run of humanity, and Comrade Maple makes a number of disturbing observations.

For example, he tends to blur the line between criticising Israel and criticising Jews. He says that, "one winces at the upper middle class and wealthy suburban addresses these (American) Zionist apologists sign. Begin and Sharon have allowed them to shed the uncomfortable liberalism Jews have worn for so long. . . ." "Uncomfortable liberalism"? "Wealthy suburban addresses"? One winces, indeed. For better or worse, as far as I can tell,

pro-Zionist feelings among American Jews is not confined to any particular economic strata.

And shades of Comrade Emma, what the HELL is this bit about "uncomfortable liberalism"? Broad Jewish participation in various progressive movements including our own is one of the few clear facts known about American Radicalism in the past and today. If there is any discomfort of any sort today among American radicals of Jewish background, it is at least largely due to comments like Maple's ill-considered arguments. Again, one begins to wonder whether we are talking about the state of Israel or the Jewish people.

Peace, Solidarity and World Revolution,
Spider Rainbow
Atlanta

"Why single out Israel for special abuse. . .? 1) Israel plays a crucial role in the U.S. empire's Middle East policies, and 2) because of its the successful mystification Israel has been able to erect."

E.B. Maple replies: Spider Rainbow has distributed the Fifth Estate in the Deep South, along with many other anti-authoritarian publications, through his SRAAF-affiliated affinity group, RAAG. He also publishes Circle A in Atlanta, Post Office Box 77326, Atlanta GA 30309. He has our gratitude for the former and our admiration for the latter.

It was at first difficult for me to understand Spider's intense anger at my "review" or essay if he prefers, but I think the nub of it lies in his charge of anti-Semitism. It seems strange to have to defend oneself from such a charge in a publication like ours, but in many ways no more so than from his other somewhat hysterical accusations of "marxist fadism" and the like.

Since I believe that anti-Semitism continues to exist in the world in a virulent form and it is something for radicals to be concerned with, let me repeat the point I was trying to make in hopes of presenting it unambiguously. I was trying to say that when people become captives of reaction-

So please, they beg, don't mention the litany of horrors that Israel perpetrates—it will only make the world hate the Jews all the more. Suffice it to say that I don't think this is what causes anti-Semitism and in this case I think the shoe is on the other foot: It is Spider who wants special treatment for Israel by choosing to ignore Israel's special role within the American Empire, and it is those Jewish radicals refusing to make a clean break with Zionism who encourage the association of all Jews with its racist and reactionary ideology.

Just a few other points: Firstly, we have so often condemned national liberation movements in general and the PLO in particular in these pages that it seemed almost redundant to have to do so again. Besides, it was a review of three books on Israel, not of the Mufti of Palestine's maneuvering with the Nazis or of Arafat's statist intentions.

Secondly: I did not want to go to deeply into the question of the kibbutzim because they rate an essay in themselves, but since Spider raises the point, let me make a few remarks. I would characterize

rural communes, Israel's kibbutzim serve to disguise the capitalist nature of the country's economy, and to provide the illusion of participating in a system of production separate from "normal" capitalist forms of work. However, regardless of what the internal structure of the kibbutzim was or is and regardless of the high idealism which often is expressed by participants in the kibbutz movement, it cannot be separated from Israel's history, something apparently Spider would be pleased if we would all ignore. The authors of Our Roots Are Still Alive, one of the books which was reviewed last issue, state: "The 'equality' of the kibbutz was for Jews only," and relate how each kibbutz was also a military base for the Zionist Haganah army.

But if Spider doesn't like history, the rather recent past doesn't fare very well for the kibbutz to be respected either. In that regard I find it more than curious that Spider would cite Mapam as an example of the radical Zionist left of which there most assuredly is in Israel, but all of whom accept the continuance of the state of Is-

rael and reconciliation with the Palestinians. Mapam, which was one of the major parties of the ruling Labor Party coalition, and which supported every Israeli war, occupation and annexation, is certainly not one of them.

The Israeli Socialist Organization, in its paper Matzpen (and reprinted by RAAG's umbrella organization, SRAAF), described Mapam in a 1971 pamphlet thusly: "Mapam's traditional role has been to 'sell' Zionism to left-wing circles around the world." They have apparently been at least partially successful with Spider, if not on selling the concept of the state, then at least on selling their mystification of Israel's white settler institutions. Here's Matzpen from the same pamphlet describing Mapam's kibbutzim which Spider exalts: "Let us mention their (Mapam's) kibbutzim—e.g. Bar'am—which are founded on land confiscated from Arab peasants, who although being citizens, were dispossessed to make room for these Zionist settlements." One wonders what "all students of libertarian communism" would say about such a startling revelation.

Regarding the Israeli union federation, Histadrut, Our Roots Are Still Alive describes them thusly: "The leaders of 'Labor Zionism' were the strongest supporters of Jewish separatism. They founded

so did the strength of Labor Zionism and the boldness of its actions. Members of the Histadrut picketed and stood guard at Jewish orchards to prevent Arab workers from getting jobs. Squads of activists stormed through market places, pouring kerosene on tomatoes grown in Arab gardens or smashing eggs that Jewish housewives might purchase from Arab merchants." When these actions are combined with the Histadrut slogan of "Jewish Land, Jewish Labor, Jewish Produce," is it really too cynical to suggest a parallel with the Nazis in the next decade?

Another commonly held myth is the one repeated here that the Zionist leadership attempted to "steal away as many Jews from Nazi Europe as possible in advance of the coming holocaust." Nothing could be farther from the truth, and this is certainly not even what the Zionists themselves claimed at the time.

Regarding immigration to Palestine during the 1930's: What a German Zionist official termed the "cruel criteria of Zionism" was invoked to allow only a certain stratum of German Jews to reach Palestine. Most German Jews were simply not wanted there even after Kristallnacht in 1938, when the worst abuses of the Nazis were beginning to take shape.

Chaim Weizmann, head of the World Zionist Organization, in a 1934 report to

ary nationalism, it affects their entire world view.

I think this has become true of many U.S. Jews regarding their support for Israel regardless of their class (as Spider says), and that Zionism has caused a generalized trend toward de-liberalization within the Jewish community. In many ways I was motivated to write the "review" after witnessing two people I know leave radical activity for a politics defined solely by a defense of Israel and its Likud leadership.

In terms of middle-class and wealthy Jews, my point was that previously, as a group, they exhibited a disproportionately high degree of liberal sentiments for their social class, but that the Middle East events of the last year have created the context for a rightward shift in the totality of their social views to a position more consistent with their economic status. This includes support for Reagan's aggressive Middle Eastern strategies and for the U.S. military as the ultimate protector of Israel, but also, as I said, the shedding of traditional liberal positions such as racial equality.

Again, this is consistent with their social class, but not with the Jewish leadership. Black leaders of the 20th anniversary March on Washington this August expressed disappointment at the relatively small number of Jewish organizational endorsements for the event, compared to the original one two decades ago.

So, in that manner I was not trying to make a separation between Israel and Jews who support its bloody policies. But why, asks Spider, sing out Israel for special abuse in a world of equally vicious nation states? Two reasons: 1) Israel plays a crucial role as the lynchpin of the U.S. empire's Middle East policies, and 2) because of the successful mystification Israel has been able to erect about itself among not only the general public, but even extending to some leftists and anarchists.

Among many radicals of Jewish background (from the sappy, barely concealed pro-Zionist writings of Sam and Esther Dolgoff to Spider's meticulous listing of Israel's "good" points) one realizes how extremely difficult it is for them to sever the emotional ties to a process which would have forever ended the Diaspora.

It's as though they almost ache to embrace Israel, to have a home, to leave their status as "rootless cosmopolitans," but the grotesque reality of Israel rains down upon them in a sad torrent making it impossible to do. One senses the feeling in them that when Jews, Europe's traditional victims, emerge as the tormentors of others, acting out the worst travesties that the Gentile nations once wreaked upon them, it becomes a shandah, a disgrace, on not just Israel, but on all Jews.

a few remarks. I said "socialist trappings" because in modern Israel, that's what they are. No one with any sense alleges that Israel has a socialist economy. For those who choose to see no further than its ag-

accept the continuance of the state of Israel as a precondition of their politics. There are also a number of marxist and marxist-leninist formations which are anti-Zionist and call for region-wide revolu-

ers of Jewish separation. They formed the exclusively Jewish trade union, the Histadrut in 1920. It rapidly became the spearhead of anti-Palestinian activity. . . As the Jewish colony grew in the 1920s,

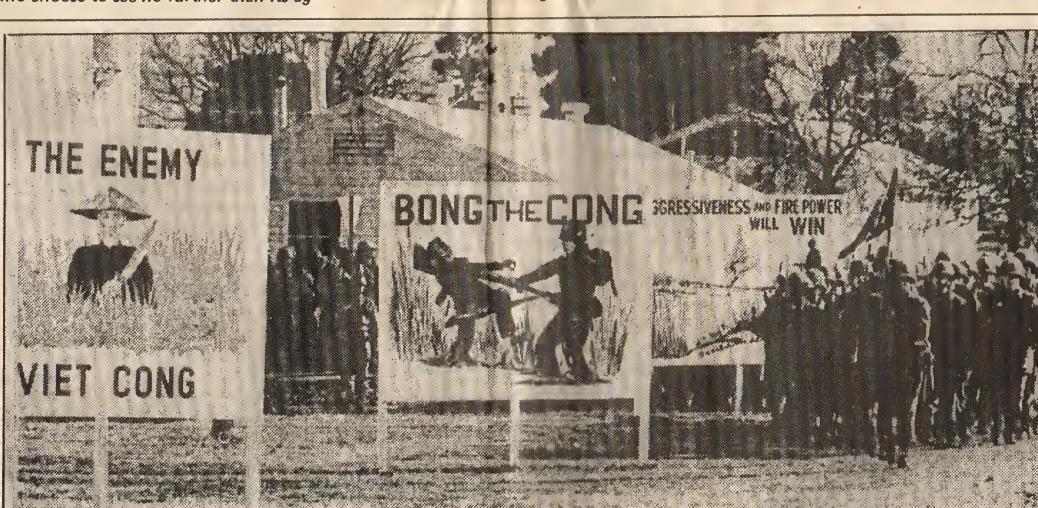
that body, stated that those who "were over 30, and possess no capital cannot be absorbed into Palestine. . ." During the middle 1930s, two-thirds of the German Jews who applied for immigration were turned down in favor of "qualified" American, British and other nationalities of non-threatened Jews.

In late 1938, after Kristallnacht, the British-colonial masters of Palestine proposed expanding Jewish immigration, but were opposed by David Ben-Gurion at a meeting of Labor Zionist leaders. He stated: "If I knew that it would be possible to save all the (Jewish) children of Germany by bringing them to England, and only half of them by transporting them to Eretz Israel, then I would opt for the second alternative." Israel was important, not the Jewish people.

I referred to the Ha'avara Transfer Agreement worked out between the Labor Zionists in Palestine and the Nazi government as "venal collaboration" because the adjective is an apt one, i.e., "Capable of betraying one's honor, duty, or scruples, for a price; corruptible." I don't know what else to term an arrangement which on the one hand breaks a worldwide Jewish boycott of German goods, and on the other permits wealthy German Jews to buy their way into Palestine via cooperation with the Nazis at the expense of their poorer neighbors.

So great was the influx of Nazi-laundered German Jewish capital that between 1933 and 1939, 60% of all investment was from that source and meant that Palestine was one of the few regions not to suffer economically during the Depression. Even the fascist wing of Zionism, the Jabotinskyites found the deal so abhorrent that one of their members assassinated a leading Labor Zionist official in 1933 who was one of those negotiating with the Nazis. (One of the Jabotinskyite alumni, Itzak Shamir, as part of the Stern Gang, later tried to cut a deal with the Nazis, somewhat on the order of the IRA, but was turned down by the Germans.)

In closing, let me quote Stanley Diamond, the poet and anthropologist, who in the July 23, 1983 issue of the Nation (See "Jewish State, State of Jewishness") defines Nazism in a way that can be applied no less to modern Israel and to the Jews who support it: ". . . the rallying of the people from the top down, the elaborate signals, the commanding signs of pseudo-integration (as opposed to symbolic reciprocity)—all reveal the frustrations of a civilized people hunting for meaning and inevitably failing, using the machinery of the state and falling victim to the state." I'm sure Spider agrees with this no less than I do; the rest we can continue to disagree about.



Vietnam/Lebanon — Same Racism

With the Vietnam analogy on everyone's lips, first for El Salvador and Nicaragua, and now for Lebanon, the signs of similarities arise ever more frequently. One such indication is shown here in the accompanying two photos. The first is from the front page of the January 15, 1967 *Fifth Estate* showing draftees marching in Ft. Polk, LA, beneath a racist portrayal of orientals exhorting the soldiers to "Bong the Cong." "The Enemy Viet Cong" turned out to be all Vietnamese, whether soldier, guerrilla, civilian, woman or child, with a resultant one million Vietnamese slaughtered by the U.S. war machine. The second photo is from Lebanon, taken during October prior to the bombing of the Marine headquarters and similar to the Vietnam era, the soldiers are implored to "Kill All the Rag Heads." All Arabs are reduced to their traditional headgear and all are the enemy. It is the same racism, the same arrogance, the same unquestioning obedience to the state military apparatus which masks another's humanity in order to turn them into mere objects for murder.

Troops on the frontlines, as in all wars, must see those facing them not as their enemy, but as their brothers and sisters. The real enemies are the politicians who direct the war and the army officers who command them. Troops! Fraternize with the other side! Refuse orders to kill! Make peace on the battlefield! Say no to death! Say no to the State. Be human.





A World Is Faltering THE '80s SO FAR

From new levels of boredom and the digital/TV screen mentality of the high technology onslaught, to mounting physical pollution and economic decay, only the incidentals of alienation have changed at all in the past four years. A climate of (often mis-directed) violence is also greatly in evidence; as so many elements of modern life cheapen living, the relevance of "life is cheap," once thought applicable mainly elsewhere, emerges around us. In the mid-'80s the potential promise lies solely in the conclusion that the world is even closer to collapse.

Society's negation has moved forward; and in the decomposition of the old world it is increasingly accurate to speak, with Sanguineti, of that "false consciousness which still reigns, but no longer governs." As the century runs down, so does, faster and faster, its store of effective illusions.

There is no guarantee how much humanness will survive to replace repressive emptiness with an unfettered life spirit. For an agonizing toll is being registered on all our sensibilities. As the refrain of John Cougar's best-selling record of 1982, "Jack and Diane," put it, "Oh yeah, life goes on / Long after the thrill of living is gone."

The supermarket tabloids also reflect the rampant sense of generalized pain and loss, with their weekly parade of features on depression, fear of aging, stress and the like. Similarly, a flow of advertising for Stressgard, Stress Formula vitamins, etc. A September 21, 1981 *Time* essay, "The Burnout of Almost Everyone": "Today the smell of psychological wiring on fire is everywhere . . . Burnout is pre-eminently the disease of the thwarted; it is a frustration so profound that it exhausts body and morale." In the mid-'80s this condition seems to be even more widespread, if possible; for example, Proaccini and Kieffaber's popular 1983 work, *Parent Burnout*, and *Time*'s June 6, 1983 cover story, "Stress!", introduced by a contorted, screaming face.

A prior psychological and social stability is giving way to an assault upon the young by these realities of dominated life. Marie Winn's *Children Without Childhood* (1983) describes a fundamental shift away from the condition of children as innocents protected from the world, from a conception of childhood that was the norm until just a very few years ago. Intimate awareness of drugs and violence at very early ages, for example, is a brutalizing consequence of the awareness of the falseness of such institutions as the nuclear family, religion, and government.

Nowhere is the traditional family continuing to

INTRODUCTION

It is impossible to give any credence to the statistics of disaffection and disintegration assembled here by John Zerzan and at the same time take seriously a recent survey in which the vast majority of Americans asserted to pollster George Gallup that they were "satisfied with their lives." Our tendency, as the reader might imagine, is to accept John's wide-ranging compilations as closer to the truth than the response to a simplistic question posed by a polltaker.

But why can't we take people at their word? Aren't we putting ourselves in the position of telling people that they're unhappy when they say they are not?

It has been said that what keeps our society from coming unglued is the mistaken belief that, despite one's own unhappiness, everyone else is happy. The deep anxiety people feel in the face of this hysterical optimism—reinforced by the images of ecstatic consumption paraded across the TV screens and billboards—makes people very reluctant to admit that they are unhappy. When questioners go beyond the knee-jerk responses engendered by a simplistic question like "Are you satisfied?", a complexity of responses emerges and the depths of peoples' fears and uncertainty begin to be plumbed.

More telling than what people say about their happiness or unhappiness are the enumerations of misery that

aspects of work refusal are virtually countless, and unabating. *Dun's Business Month* for October 1982 dealt with the \$40 billion a year "High Cost of Employee Theft," describing it as a "major cause of business failures," while June 1983 revealed a three-year study by the Justice Department that detailed extremely widespread "employee pilferage" (Associated Press, June 12, 1983). *Nation's Business* (July 1983) followed by "How to Foil Employee Crime: Inside Thefts Can Destroy a Business—And Often Do." The continued strong growth in the use of lie detectors by employers is one obvious corollary to this facet of the vanishing of the work ethic.

Another prominent part of the syndrome, in terms of the mid-'80s emphases, is referred to in *Business Horizons*' "Employee Substance Abuse: Epidemic of the Eighties" (July/August 1983), and by *Newsweek's* "Taking Drugs on the Job" cover story (August 22, 1983), which outlined its "enormous" dimensions and cost to the economy.

The movement toward worker participation as a stabilizing principle gains ground against the backdrop of anti-work phenomena. The recession of 1981-83 was used by managers as a pressure to seek the best terms for the new rules; it did not prevent their institution, contrary to most predictions. Authority relations, in this area as elsewhere, will have to be increasingly participationist or they will collapse all the sooner.

In mid-September 1982, the first nationally sponsored conference on labor-management cooperation was held, with some 900 union, company, and government officials taking part. The Labor Department announced it would promote and encourage shop floor collaboration, a new U.S. policy aimed of course at undercutting worker indiscipline.

Chrysler Corporation Chairman Lee Iacocca, in a December 1982 speech to the Commercial Club of Boston, spoke of the crucial need to "get everyone on the same team—labor, management, and the government." He repeated this idea on June 30, 1983 to enthusiastic union representatives at the first businessman to address Michigan's AFL-CIO convention in its 25-year history. Similarly, the "Let's Work Together" series of spots by the radio and TV networks' Broadcasting Industry Committee to Improve American Productivity were widely aired and Ford's two-page ad entitled "A Breakthrough in Labor Relations Has Helped Create the Highest Quality Vehicles in America" appeared prominently in 1983.

New Organizational Model for the Workplace

NOT ONLY IS THE TRADITIONAL FAMILY CONTINUING TO fall apart, but love itself seems to be worn down more quickly by the strains and deprivation of the twilight of capitalism. The 1980 census figures reveal a marked trend toward the one-person household, to the accompaniment of articles such as, "The Reasons Men and Women Are Raging at Each Other All of a Sudden" (*Cosopolitan*, November 1982).

Naturally, many of the young seem profoundly horrified by what they are expected to live under. "Suicide Among Preschoolers on Rise" was the topic of a May 15, 1983 UPI feature, while *U.S. News & World Report's* June 20, 1983 "Behind a Surge in Suicides of Young People" discussed the suicide trend among youth. *Newsweek* for August 15, 1983 reported that the 15-to-24-year-old age group is the only segment of the population whose death rate has increased in recent years, and that among 15- to 19-year-olds, suicide is now the second leading cause of death, after traffic accidents, many of which, in fact, are suspected suicides.

Anorexia nervosa (self-induced starvation) and bulimia (a pattern of gorging followed by vomiting) are rapidly spreading phenomena among women. First registered in the popular media in the mid-'70s, the growth of these afflictions had been discussed in such articles as "The Bing-Purge: Syndrome" (*Newsweek*, November 2, 1981) and "Anorexia: the 'Starving Disease' Epidemic" (*U.S. News & World Report*, August 30, 1982). The October 1983 *Ms.* asks, "Is the Binge-Purge Cycle Catching?" while noting that "At least half the women on campus today suffer from some kind of eating disorder."

A sudden surge in heroin use among various social classes, from blue-collar workers to Kennedy offspring drew much media attention during the second half of 1983.

Rising Tide of Mediocrity in Education

Continued growth in the dimensions of alcohol abuse has brought a big turnaround from the '70s, namely the tendency of states to raise the legal drinking age. A *Redbook* (June 1982) survey "revealed the startling news that problem drinking is increasing dramatically among women who are under the age of 35. The *Wall Street Journal* of February 8, 1983 addressed the connection between brawling, failing grades, and drinking in "Colleges Try to Combat Rampant Alcohol Use, But With Little Effect." The first federally funded study on the subject in fifty years, *Alcohol and Public Policy: Beyond the Shadow of Prohibition*, attracted attention in summer 1983 with its recommendation of a national campaign to slash alcohol consumption.

At the same time, the report of the National Commission on Excellence in Education, issued in May, had been causing more of a stir by its devastating indictment of the American education system; the 18-month study warned of "a rising tide of mediocrity that threatens our very future as a nation and a people," as kids have perhaps never been so turned off by school.

Gambling has been multiplying so rapidly as to be measured in fractions of the national economy and to cause some social critics to refer to it as a craze that reflects basic changes in public attitudes toward work and money. "Gambling Rage: Out of Control" (*U.S. News & World Report*, May 30, 1983) depicts a growing popular "urge to buck the odds and take a chance—on anything."

one may find presented item by item almost everywhere, but rarely connected—people. Eric Fromm, in *The Sane Society*, said that if one took the gross statistics of crime, violence, alcoholism, mental illness, drug addiction, divorce and a host of other mental and physical plagues affecting the American people, and applied them to a single individual, he or she would emerge as a dreadfully sick, unhappy, and dangerous person. This nation cannot escape a similar comparison, despite the fact that polls such as the one in question are designed to avoid such a comparison by making it appear that each individual's personal grief is unique to her, its cause an intrinsic personality flaw rather than an effect of a damaged social fabric.

John assembles these surveys every so often (See "Promise of the '80s," in the June 1980 *FE*) probably to remind himself and us that beneath the shiny exterior of American culture things are cracking, that the normal ways of governing are floundering and that those in power are flailing about searching for new ways to secure us in our pre-determined ruts. John has occasionally been accused of a mechanistic approach in collecting such data, but it would be contrary to his position to contend that he thinks the road to revolution leads directly from job burn-out and tax avoidance. Rather, these junctures or ruptures promise what he accurately describes as the potential for revolution, with allegiance at a low ebb, mystifications faltering, and people generally suspicious of authority.

Another development receiving scrutiny in the early and mid-'80s is massive avoidance of taxes. The "Tax-Evasion Virus" (*Psychology Today*, March 1982) employed a medical metaphor to opine that "In the epidemiology of cheating, there is...contagion—and no vaccine in sight." Featured in *Business Week* for April 5, 1982 was "The Underground Economy's Hidden Force," a lengthy discussion of the "startling growth" of the refusal to report income for the purpose of avoiding taxes, which posits distrust of government as its central element. *Time's* March 28, 1983 cover story, "Cheating by the Millions", also focused on the growing, open acceptance even of blatant tax evasion. *Time* noted that tax revenue lost to fraud tripled from 1973 to 1981 and projected that '83 losses (possibly \$300 billion) may entail a ten-fold jump over those of 1973.

In the military, reports of sabotage and the near-universal use of drugs continue to appear routinely, along with articles indicating the unreliability of enlisted persons as mindless instruments of destruction. The total fiasco of the April 1980 mission to rescue the American embassy hostages in Iran reflected, to many, the combat unreadiness of armed services personnel as a whole. During the following two years, political commentators of every stripe were astonished by the wholesale non-compliance which met a pre-draft registration law, as about one million 19- and 20-year-olds ignored the federal requirement to sign up. (In the spring of 1982 an annual reserve duty call-up in the Ukraine had to be cancelled when too few reported.)

If the "New Nationalism" component of the still-born New Right movement of the early '80s seemed to exist mainly as a media creation, like the Moral Majority, the alleged rise of the Ku Klux Klan also proved non-existent. In 1925, 40,000 had marched in a Washington, D.C. rally; at their next Washington show of strength, on November 27, 1982, fewer than 40 appeared. And the thousands of counter-demonstrators on hand, breaking the confines of leftist ritual provided for them, used the occasion to riot, looting shops and injuring ten police.

The election of Reagan produced no social or ideological results for the Right; its efforts in favor of school prayer and creationism, and against abortion and conservation, clearly failed. A Louis Harris poll of January 1983 expressed Americans' desire for tougher anti-pollution laws, counter to the Reagan administration's hopes to use the depth of recession for a severe weakening of environmental statutes. Meanwhile, articles like "Behind the Public's Negative Attitude Toward Business" (*U.S. News & World Report*, July 12, 1982) and "A Red Light for Scofflaws" (*TIME*, Essay, January 24, 1983), which editorialized about the "extreme infectiousness" of the current spirit of generally ignoring laws of all kinds, are published frequently.

Alienation Cuts Deeper Than Ever Before

In a February 1983 Louis Harris poll on alienation, a record 62% registered a bitter estrangement from the idea of the supposed legitimacy of the rich and powerful, and leadership in general. "Clearly, alienation has cut deeper into the adult population of America than ever before," concluded Harris. Robert Wuthnow, "Moral Crisis in American Capitalism" (*Harvard Business Review*, March-April 1983), analyzed an unprecedented "fundamental uncertainty about the institutions of capitalism." And as the percentage of voters declines still further, young people are demonstrating an utter disinterest in politics. "Civics Gap: Alarming Challenge" (*U.S. News & World Report*, April 25, 1983) featured former Commissioner of Education Ernest L. Boyer, who spoke of an "upsurge of apathy and decline in public understanding" of government among students.

In the world of work, or should one say anti-work, the '80s continue to evidence a deepening disaffection. The reports and studies fuel countless stories on high turnover, the chronic "productivity crisis", growing "time theft", the sharp increase (since 1974) of people interested only in part-time work, as well as on job stress, unemployment insurance "abuse", etc.—the

Since the '70s the new organizational model, at all levels, has been steadily moving forward. The spring 1982 *Journal of Contemporary Business* focused on "Theory X, Y, Z, or ?: Reshaping the American Workplace." John Simmons and William J. Mares' "Reforming Work" (*New York Times*, October 25, 1982) reported a "dramatically increased employee participation in management and ownership," aimed at reducing alienation and reversing the productivity decline, and amounting to "a quiet revolution... taking place on shop floors and in offices across America." The shift to tripartite negotiations in auto, steel and construction were examples of a tendency toward collaboration that must be expanded, according to "Ideology Revisited: America Looks Ahead" by David A. Heenan (*Sloan Management Review*, Winter 1982). Its stress on implementing a "one nation indivisible" solution reflects the powerful dis-integrative energies at large and points in the direction of a fascist choice of alternatives.

Among the many other influential references in fairly recent publications are Donald N. Scobel's "Business and Labor—from Adversaries to Allies" in the November-December 1982 *Harvard Business Review*, and D. Quinn Mills' March 1983 *Monthly Labor Review* offering, "Reforming the U.S. System of Collective Bargaining", which concludes that a new, official collaborative set-up is essential to avoid a high degree of "economic and social unrest" which would be counter to the interest "of the Nation as a whole."

Meanwhile, by the middle of 1983, the newsmagazines and monthly magazines had devoted much space to Harvard's Robert Reich, a Democratic Party advisor, whose *The Next American Frontier* advocates tripartite planning as an alternative to Reagan's neo-free market failures and beyond. The August 28, 1983 *New York Times Magazine* discussed an emerging national policy emphasis in this area, centering on the Industrial Policy Study Group made up of bankers, union officials, politicians, and high-tech corporation heads, and meeting at the AFL-CIO national headquarters. This corporatist tendency (see Frank Hearn, "The Corporatist Mood in the United States", *TELOS*, No. 56, useful for its bibliographic notes, is not confined to the U.S.; on August 1, 1983 a new USSR "Law on Work Collectives," featuring worker participation, was enacted under the direction of Andropov, who came to power in late 1982 expressly to combat a severe Soviet work refusal.

Of course before the '80s there were digital watches, pocket calculators, and Star Wars. But easily the biggest social impact of the early to middle years of the decade, occurring with developing changes in work organization, has been that of the high tech explosion with its promise of video games and computers for every business, dwelling and school.

1982 was the full inauguration of this blitz, as observed by such as "Computers for the Masses: The Revolution Is Just Beginning" early in the year (*U.S. News & World Report*, January 3, 1982), and *Time's* January 3, 1983 cover story, "A New World Dawns," which proclaimed the computer Man of the Year for 1982.

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Behind all the ways work and technology can be reformulated and repackaged stands their basic domination and the resultant weariness and frustration.

A World Is Faltering

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The outlines are well-known to everyone, even though the meaning of this latest technological wave has been publicly discussed almost not at all. Suddenly we are in the Information Age, its benign—and inevitable—consequences to be merely accepted as facts of life. A two-page IBM ad announced the "new era" under the heading, "Information: There's Growing Agreement that It's the Name of the Age We Live In." A TRW, Inc. ad of 1983 began, "There Was a Time When There was Time. Once we could spend time with a new piece of information," proceeding to boast of the speed with which its computer systems can deal with "trillions of bits of information." But the processing of data—"information"—has nothing to do with understanding, and what comes to mind here is the social affliction just around the corner suggested in Ted Mooney's 1982 novel, *Easy Travel to Other Planets*, that of "information sickness."

Technology Further Colonizes Each New Generation

It is also becoming ever more obvious that technology renders each succeeding generation more technology-dependent, further separated from nature, more fully colonized by the inauthentic and empty. The notion of people as appendages of machines, evoked in terms of 19th century industrialism, is even more relevant today. Apple Computer offered its product to the late 1983 consumer with the counsel, "Think of It as a Maserati for Your Mind," in a debasement of individuality and creation echoed by the claims that typing an instruction on a computer results in art or that word processors enable one to write. We become weaker, reduced, infantilized.

Meanwhile this barren future's dawning is heralded especially for the young, who may be expected to have been prepared for this contrived world by the ugliness and boredom of today's. "Computer Camps for Kids," reveals a July 19, 1982 *Newsweek* article, followed by a look at education in that magazine's December 27, 1982 issue, entitled "The Great Computer Frenzy." The Apple Company announced in July 1983 its plan to provide free computers for every public school in California that asked for one, as colleges began to require that students purchase computers as part of registration. Howard Rheingold's "Video Games Go to School" (*Psychology Today*, September 1983) discussed the "profound transformation" of education represented by the introduction of classroom computers.

Benjamin Compaine's "The New Literacy" (*Science Digest*, March 1983) matter-of-factly states that

the ability to manipulate a computer will soon be the criterion of literacy. One can perhaps already see some of the products along this line of high tech culture, such as the vacuous *USA Today*, "the Nation's Newspaper via Satellite," which arrived in 1983. The irony in the contrast between the claims of fulfillment and empowerment as promised by further "progress" and its real sterility and impoverishment is stunning. And occasionally it is almost funny, as in the case of CBS-TV's July 7, 1983 presentation, "1984 Revisited." The program zeroed in on the rise of the computer state and the consequent loss of privacy, etc. and was sponsored by Exxon Office Systems, whose frequent commercials featured a view of endless video display terminals lined up in a huge, faceless office, which could have graced the cover of any dystopian novel.

Amitai Etzioni's *An Immodest Agenda: Rebuilding America Before the 21st Century* (1982) takes aim at an individualism that in view of this sociologist, has disastrously advanced since the '60s to the point of threatening American society itself. The search for self-fulfillment, which involves a "retreat from work" and an "inability to defer gratification," affects 80% of the population and, according to Etzioni, is crippling virtually all the institutions that mediate between the individual and the state. While this "Immodest Agenda" is essentially a warning and a wish by one hoping to preserve and even renew the

present order, others can see in high tech the tools of uniformity and "objective" restraints necessary to do precisely that.

Computerization: Dispensing with the Proletariat

Computer entrepreneur Steven Wozniak staged a 3-day "Us Festival" in Southern California over the 1982 Labor Day weekend, intended to help transcend the threatening forces of the "me generation" by introducing the 400,000 music fans to a giant computer pavilion and such high tech wonders as fifty-foot video screens. Steven Levy's "Bliss, Microchips and Rock & Roll" (*Rolling Stone*, October 14, 1982) called this effort "the marriage of rock and computer technology." The efficacy of this spectacle may be doubted, however, especially considering the fate of the second US festival, also held in San Bernadino county, during Memorial Day weekend, 1983. Several injuries occurred, and part of the crowd tore down fences, threw bottles at sheriff's deputies and rammed their cars into police cruisers.

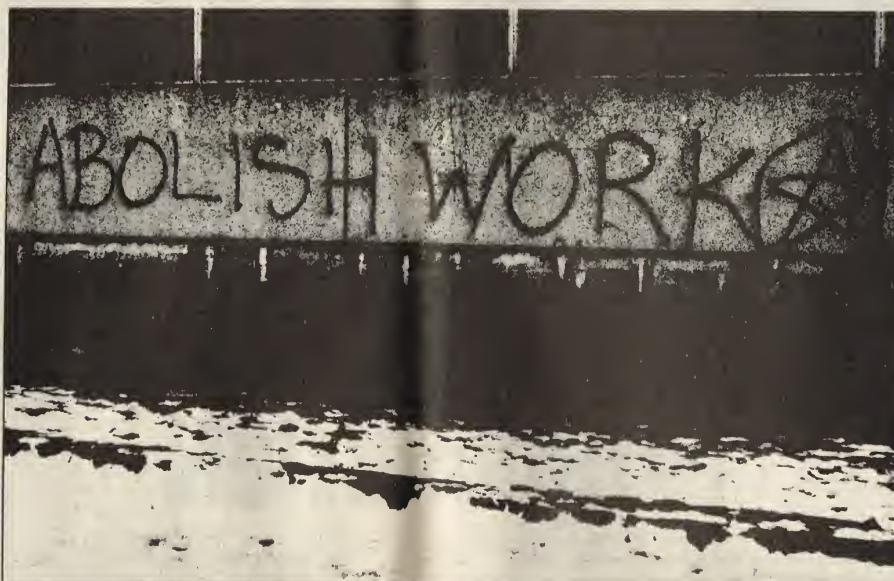
Certainly the project of computerizing work, in the neo-Taylorist direction of quantifying and tightly regulating employee output, is a major part of technology's combat with troublesome and capricious humanity. John Andrew's "Terminal Tedium" (*Wall Street Journal*, May 6, 1983) is typical of many articles describing the strong antipathy to computer-systematized work. Workers in a Blue Shield office

in Massachusetts, for example, denounced the electronic set-up as simply an unbearable sweatshop and told Andrew they wouldn't be there long. In the May 15, 1983 *New York Times*, Richard McGahey ("High Tech, Low Hopes") wrote of the oppressive, low-paid work, such as computer assembly, that underlies the clean, dazzling facade of the new developments and warned of "increased class tensions."

With industrial robotics one detects high technology's wishful thinking that capital could reproduce itself while dispensing with an undesirable proletariat. The growing number of "telecommuters", or those performing piece-work at home before computer screens, expresses some of this urge and is also part of a more general, isolating impulse at large. From the jump in one-person households to increased emphasis on "home entertainment center" type equipment, portable music headgear and the like, we seem to be shrinking away from our social selves. High technology accelerates a sense of false self-sufficiency; an early 1983 ad for the Oregon Museum of Science and Industry cited new breakthroughs in home computers, including the not wholly unserious prediction that "Soon your refrigerator will talk to you even if no-one else will."

And yet despite the great barrage of enticements of all kinds, not forgetting economic pressures, in the schools, the media and elsewhere, much popular resistance to the computer age exists. Since Harold Hellman's 1976 work, *Technophobia*, more recent works have sounded the same theme, for example, *Blaming Technology* (1981) by Samuel C. Florman and *Science and Anxiety* (1981) by Jeffrey V. Mallow. More recently, lots of articles have shown that girls still avoid mathematics, as well as video games, and detail a probably sharply growing distrust of technology among various groups throughout society. September's *Science '83* asked, "Are Kids Afraid to Become Scientists?", and wondered why more than half of U.S. high school students drop out of science and math by the 10th grade.

Behind all the ways work and technology can be reformulated and repackaged stands their basic domination and the resultant weariness and frustration felt so universally today. A world is faltering. It is defined by absurdities and so draining that our participation must be demanded if it is to continue to exist. The "issue" of "quality of life" is spurious. If as Fourier said, "Civilization becomes more odious as it nears its end," we at least can see not only the odium but more prospects for its end. ■



If you are reading this right now, you are not making love. But you are presumably not assembling cars nor doing the dishes either. In this essay about sex you will not learn new techniques, ideas or perspectives. You might even get bored reading it, in which case I insist that you do something else immediately, as that is the whole point of what I am saying.

The Surrealists like to say that in poetry words make love. At "Burger King" they like to say that hamburgers make love and they're probably right also. I would not, I swore to myself long ago, be writing this if and until I could enjoy it.

Which is not to say that dry, academic —boring—essays can't be enjoyable, sometimes, like when I'm in a dry, academic and boring mood, nothing could bring me to greater heights. This is all about pleasure.

I can't prove it, but at this exact moment you are experiencing orgasmic pleasure beyond your ability to imagine it. Every absolute cell in your body, yes, weirdo, even your foot cells, are undergoing excruciating ecstasy. That is one of the reasons you won't let yourself feel it. It is so painful to let go of yourself and so pleasurable to be miserable like this.

That is why I start with Marquis De Sade. In spite of himself, this poet revealed the sexual dialectic in one of its basic manifestations. I say "in spite" because like Reich, he could not develop his thought that little bit further which would unlock forever the key to all of his dreams. Similarly, both writers could sense this and I truly believe that this frustration made them despair to the point of self-destruction.

The pleasure/pain dialectic. Since the point of essays, being reductionist, is oversimplification, let me in the spirit of consistency eliminate a whole department of mental bureaucracy, and put it this way: Self-consciousness is the essence of limitation. Self-consciousness is every thing we seem to be, and is the sine qua non of education.

In the spirit of limitation, of self, unlimited pleasure becomes its opposite, pain. Experience pain at a high level, I dare you, and at a point it too degenerates into something quite nice. Why DeSade

is important to understand is that he answers the puzzle of why we would let ourselves go on reproducing this miserable society with all of its painful manifestations.

The religious exploit this institutionally by claiming suffering as a virtue. Furthermore, they always tortured witches, for instance, as opposed to merely burning them, because in this way they could "cleanse their souls," or, in other words, expand their consciousness, and they probably did.

Similarly, we hear of shamans swinging on poles by ropes attached on hooks through their skins, like so many Walleyes; or of long fasts on cold hilltops, walking over hot coals, etc. I could have told them that these feats are unnecessary, but they wouldn't have believed me either.

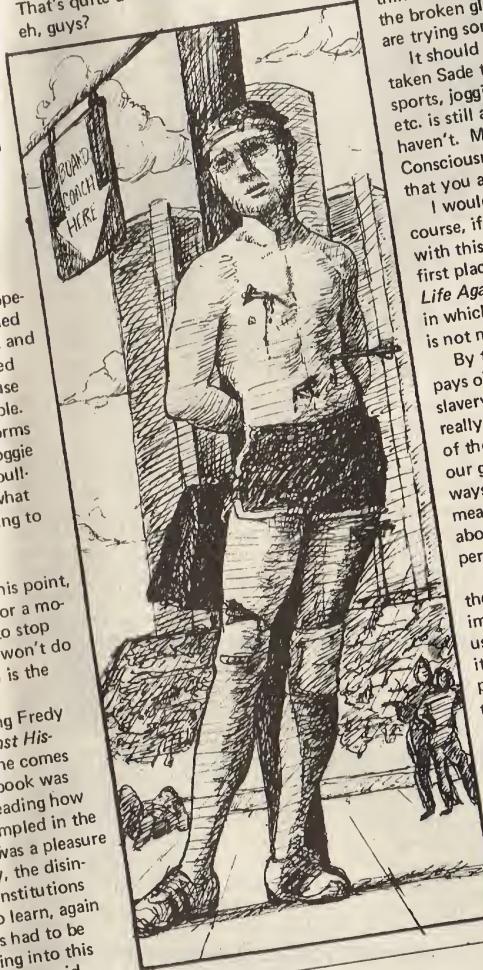
Consciousness, by definition, is pain. Reich, maintaining that the momentary release of self through sexual love would somehow culminate in a permanent reversal of this condition, was indeed a hopeful attempt, but this release, even coupled with the social transformation of labor, and other forms of pain, would only succeed in instituting new forms of pain, because we would all be the same kind of people. We may be experiencing less severe forms of pain/oppression, but we cannot boggie our way out of this mess by merely pulling down our pants more often; so what if we throw away the pants, they cling to us in what he would rightfully call "character armour."

If it makes you feel better, at this point, to have a quick fuck in the bush for a moment, go right ahead. Who am I to stop you? But you'll be back, or you won't do it now for various reasons, which is the crux of what I am saying.

I just recently finished reading Fredy Perlman's delightful book *Against History, Against Leviathan*, and he comes to this point repeatedly. The book was delightful because I enjoyed reading how so many civilizations were trampled in the dust of barbaric vengeance; it was a pleasure to experience, even indirectly, the disintegration of so many of the institutions that torment us daily, and to learn, again and again, that our ancestors had to be dragged kicking and screaming into this false light, and that many of them did.

themselves of this Reichian armour. I enjoy kicking and screaming. I even enjoy the armour. It's truly a pity, truly, that I can't however, grow bark. I've said many times that I would enjoy growing antlers, almost did one time, and still some day intend to!

What has this to do, you undeservedly ask, with sexuality? Not antlers, but of me with a cow, the cow had horns. That's quite a score for an eight year old, eh, guys?



It has to do with Reich claiming to shed character armour by unleashing our sexuality. If we are not repressed, starting as children, in our sexuality but allowed to express and develop it fully we would not have this armouring, and it would not be subject to the rigidity so necessary to the dominant institutions to maintain our passive submission. A Detroit character would later claim, as a revolutionary program, "rock and roll, dope, and fucking in the streets." This was the line of the White Panthers and I think that most of them now have pulled the broken glass out of their buns and are trying something else.

It should be clear, by now, that I've taken Sade to heart. Why people like sports, jogging, chopping wood, boxing, etc. is still a mystery to those who haven't. Many of us, it is true, love war. Consciousness is pain, as I said. The fact that you are reading this proves it.

I would come more to the point, of course, if I didn't like to play around with this—I wouldn't have bothered in the first place. I would just say that I read *Life Against Death* by Norman O. Brown in which he said that infantile sexuality is not merely genital, but polymorphous.

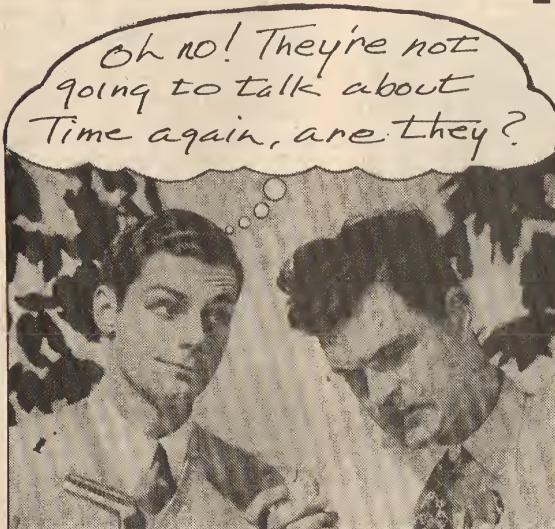
By that Greek word, in which Brown pays obeisance to centuries of intellectual slavery—Polymorphous—a nice word, really, he (like Freud) is saying that all of those wonderful feelings aroused in our genitals in adult sexuality, were alleviated our bodies in so many ways that about any activity could be a sexual experience.

Of course this changes the meaning of the word, sexuality. It also changes the implications of the word, of society, of us and everything else. While the majority of our activity is mundane, in fact painful, what we have left is that orgasm to compensate, in fact, to bribe us to sacrifice the rest of our bodies, and activities. In education, the development of so-called selfhood is the continuous restructuring of activity and awareness so that we learn how to convert pleasure into pain. Furthermore, we learn how to enjoy pain, by giving it meaning. Indeed, the most important thing (in terms of our

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Confronting the Enemy

A RESPONSE ON TIME



The following article by George Bradford continues the discussion of time and alienation initiated by John Zerzan in his article "Beginning of Time, End of Time," which appeared in the Summer 1983 FE.

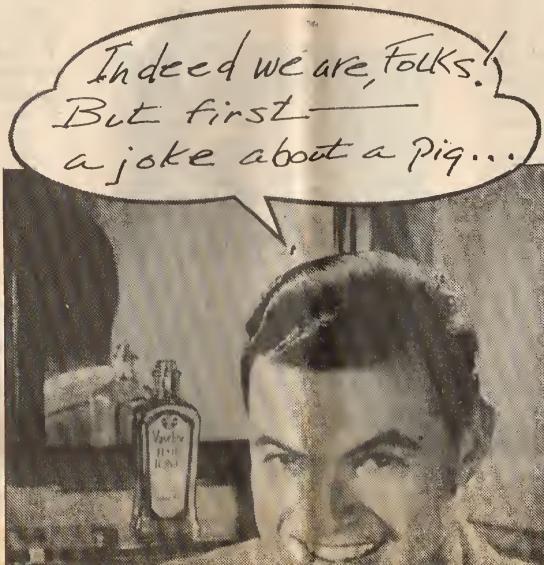
A project such as ours, based as it is on our mutual desire to abolish technological civilization, capital and domination, had to eventually take up the problem of time. All of us know with a visceral vengeance the horrid role of the clock in our lives. We don't have to be convinced: we measure out our precious, limited im/mortality against the days, the hours and the minutes of captive time. So it was with great sympathy that I began John Zerzan's ambitious essay on time. Unfortunately, my enthusiasm was dampened significantly by what I think were flaws not only in the form but in the intention or trajectory of the piece.

John felt the need, it seems, to sledgehammer his readers with a deluge of ambiguous and at times downright dubious quotations in order to defend a thesis which he had already set out to prove no matter what. Bob Brubaker, in the Summer 1983 issue of the FE, points out a number of such problems with citations, and having had the privilege of seeing the footnotes myself, I would concur. One also gets the eerie sensation that for all its "anti-time" spirit, the article follows a strangely linear and incremental development—the whole world from the Book of Genesis and the Fall to an eschatology of the apocalyptic dissolution of time (followed by paradise)—which forces the entire human universe from prehistory onward into a procrustean apparatus built around a single element. Hence it becomes "not inconceivable," for example,

mathematical time-obsession, are central to ancient totalitarian societies. But it is also clear that such complex systems of domination would have emerged out of more than a knowledge of time, of the timely cycles of agriculture and the movements of the stars. Conversely, time and temporal consciousness would not be enough to explain the complexities of Sumerian state religion. There is much more here! We reduce it at our own (critical) peril.

John refers in another qualification to the "regulation of time" as the predicate of civilization. I would agree—but the qualification here is crucial. After all, time didn't create these priestly elites, though it was one of their central techniques and obsessions. Ultimately, it wasn't the *awareness* of time on the part of the planters that led to their enslavement and immiseration, but their willingness to be dominated by it and by those who declared themselves (by force of arms) to be its representatives. There is a pathology at work here which is more fundamental than the emergence of the awareness of natural and astronomical styles.

(Correspondingly, not even the physical equations of an Einstein make atomic bombs inevitable. Given the enormous capacities of human "minding," mathematical languages and intellectual discoveries such as atomic theory were in a sense inevitable. What leads to bomb building and state terror is not a concept of atomism—if so we are lost—but the willingness of mass men molded by a massified culture



Nevertheless, there is something very provocative in his thesis. I think that he has intuited what many of these primitive societies recognize in their myths and rituals—the existence of a previous epoch of timeless, animal oneness with nature. It is certainly worth looking at this through the perspective of the primitive people who are the least removed from it, and here Campbell's book provides just such a perspective.

"In a mythologically oriented primitive society," he writes, "every aspect of life and the world is linked organically to the pivotal insight rendered in the mythology and ritual of [the gods]. Those pre-sexual, pre-mortal ancestral beings of the mythological narrative lived the idyl of the beginning, an age when all things were innocent of the destiny of life in time. But there occurred in that age an event, the 'mythological event' *par excellence*, which brought to an end its timeless way of being and effected a transformation of all things. Whereupon, death and sex came into the world as the basic correlates of temporality." In this timeless world—Eden in the linear, historical time-bound Judeo-Christian tradition; the *alcheringa* or "dream-time" of the Australian aboriginal Aranda—"there was neither birth nor death but a dreamlike state of essentially timeless being."

Myth of an Original No-time in Primitive Societies

The myths of many, if not all, primitive peoples, refer to this original realm of no-time, a separate, remote realm which is also a continual presence alongside the temporal, birth-and-death-bound existence of social life. But since mortality is an inescapable fact of biological existence, this myth must be considered a metaphor. Could the dream-time, as Lewis Mumford has suggested with a different emphasis, be a reference to an actual period of human development—a prehuman and premythological experience *before the emergence of a consciousness of death and the most fundamental temporal cycles of life*?

Campbell writes that such myths "belong rather to the world of the planters than to the shamanistically dominated hunting sphere." But consciousness of death—and hence of time—must have been present in the ritual burials (which also imply a developed, mythological mind) of *Homo neanderthalensis*, who dates as early as 200,000-75,000 B.C. To discuss a long human epoch characterized by no-time previous to this is to create a creature who never existed and to hearken back to a prehuman, preconscious form of life. The realization of death, the early awareness of the cycles of woman's menstruation and the changing of the moon, of animal mating seasons, of taking refuge at nightfall from predatory animals, of the rhythms of music and dance, all come within, or make up elements of the time-consciousness which emerges along with what we consider to be the human being and human society.

The primitive peoples haven't imagined such a prehuman existence. They seem to be aware of its reality, translating a "genetic memory" so to speak, of this prehuman life. The gradual fall into time to which John refers is perhaps the gradual birth of human self-consciousness and culture. For the primitive mentality, the memory of that long epoch beforehand remains a living presence. And why shouldn't it be? We recapitulate our entire evolutionary development from one cell to a fully

that even the Bubonic Plagues of the mid-14th century were "in a sense a massive, visceral reaction to the attack of modern time"! (Of course, it's obvious in this one extravagant case that a morbid time sense accompanied the plagues—evidenced by chilling protests against death in poetry and in the *dances macabres*. We tend to think of time when we think of death. But I plan to return to this question later.)

Perhaps we should all follow Brubaker's advice to consider the article an impressionistic survey of sorts, get the footnotes and go over for ourselves the fascinating material that Zerzan has collated. And though I fully agree with Brubaker's criticism, I would like to add my own two cents (or two minutes if you like) to the discussion. The mass of quotes and the occasional vagueness of their presentation make it impossible to respond to everything, but I should like to focus on four major areas which I think are problematic.

First of all his claim that "self-existent time" is the "first lie of social life" preceding or causing all others. Secondly, his notion of an opposition between timeless no-time and time, rather than distinguishing different forms of perception of time. Thirdly, his claims that we are presently experiencing the greatest "pressure to dissolve history and the rule of time . . . since the Middle Ages, [and] before that, since the Neolithic Revolution [a "time-bound" academic convention which I am beginning to question] establishing agriculture." And lastly, his perception of our prospects today to overthrow this time-centered civilization. I think that they are interconnected and that their consideration will flow best in this order.

According to a tautological introduction by John, time, like nature, "did not exist before the individual became separate from it." Nor, one would guess, could the individual have existed either, if we are to accept this syllogism. But it is this primary alienation which constitutes "the Fall." That "time" emerged, before "nature" or "the individual," is nowhere demonstrated, only insisted. This Fall—beginning to appear "in the shape of time," is followed by "many of tens of thousands of years of resistance" before "its definitive victory, its conversion into history" can take place. He gives no clue as to what constituted this prehistoric resistance. Nor does he hint when these tens of thousands of years passed. (We could assume that he is talking about the 30,000 years prior to Mesopotamian civilization, which would mean that time emerged with some of the earliest evidences of human culture and society. In any case, the resistance, like the primary character of time, is never demonstrated, only insisted.)

Civilization As A Matrix of Domination

Later on, he implies that agriculture is to blame—at least for "formal time concepts" (which he never distinguishes from "self-existent time," an example of the article's vagueness), which came with the emergence of agriculture. Here he indirectly suggests that agriculture is also a possible candidate for the role of "first cause" of the Curse, even at one point mentioning foraging as a possible basis for prehistoric no-time. In any case, with the Neolithic Revolution, it is downhill all the way to state civilization, with its priests, supported by agricultural surplus, measuring time and tracing the movement of the sky.

Here John certainly focusses on something of significance, the central role of time measurement to priestly and kingly domination in the ancient megamachines. But nowhere can we see time as a first cause leading to the entirety of the nightmare. Civilization, fully emerged, is infinitely more complex. Rather than a mechanistic relationship between time and its allegedly subsequent response of "spatialization" (a term first used by Bergson, I believe, in a much different way than by Zerzan), space (territory and its conquest, the specific form of the temples, zig-zagurats, and cities) and time (astronomical and dynastic cycles, planting cycles) seem to be part of a *matrix of domination*. I would recommend Lewis Mumford's first volume of *The Myth of the Machine, Technics and Human Development* as an excellent and insightful intuition of the rise of the "mutation" of the institution of kingship and state society; likewise Joseph Campbell's flawed but helpful book, *The Masks of God: Primitive Mythology*, to describe that ancient state to which Zerzan refers.

As Campbell describes it, time, and conformity to a compulsive,



to obey the commands of priestly elites and create the megastructures which make such horrors possible.)

There is a difference between the regulation of time (which implies regulation of human beings *within* time—what would it mean to regulate "self-existent time" apart from the activities of human beings?) and consciousness of time. In fact, throughout his article, one senses (and Brubaker has aptly shown this to be so) the possibility of different forms of time—his example of the Pawnee, for whom "life had a rhythm but not a progression," comes to mind. (One thinks of Jorge Luis Borges' elegant description of music as that "most docile form of time"—probably a very early form, too.) And even foraging has its cycles and seasons, its best times of day.

At The Beck And Call Of Machinery

Bergson's view, that "a qualitative sense of time, of lived experience or *duree*, requires a resistance to formalized, spatialized time" (Note that it is *time* here which is *spatialized!*) is judged "limited" by John. But he never shows the limitations—his article mostly attests to the appropriateness of Bergson's contention rather than any limitations. By following such a line of reasoning, he blurs the important distinctions which lie behind the not only primitive communities and statified empires, but the unique significance of the influx of time-domination in more recent history with the emergence of clock time along with mechanization, the standardization of languages and the writing of grammars, capitalist bookkeeping, standardization and universalization of weights and measures, ship-building treatises, experimental science, the geographic explorations and conquests of early modernity.

Even under ancient state societies, we can assume that except in the most extreme cases (such as the Aztecs) time regulation, like megatechnics and the state (all part of the same phenomenon) represented a relatively minor, sporadic (though at times catastrophic) element in the life of most people. But what began with this modern rise of mechanized, economic time domination is a development in which abstract, regulated time comes to penetrate every aspect of life. Now nearly everyone wears a wristwatch and lives by the clock. Soon clocks will be implanted directly into the brain along with microcomputers and the process will be complete. Vernacular, seasonal, agricultural, cyclic time has given way to linear, imperial, mechanized, totalitarian state time, economic time (time is money). Natural cycles have been burst by the technological, time-centered, power-centered universe of capital.

The distinction between the two forms of time is succinctly expressed by Jacques Ellul in *The Technological Society*. Before the advent of the public clock tower, he writes, "time had been measured by life's needs and events . . . the time man guided himself by corresponded to nature's time; it was material and concrete. It became abstract . . . when it was divided into hours, minutes and seconds. Little by little this mechanical kind of time, with its knife-edge divisions, penetrated, along with machinery, into human life." After the appearance of private clocks, "life itself was measured by the machine; its organic functions obeyed the mechanical. Eating, working and sleeping were at the beck and call of machinery. Time, which had been the measure of organic sequences, was broken and dissociated."

John refuses to admit such a distinction, attempting rather to speculate on the existence of a prior, non-alienated "no-time." Though he attempts to plumb the bottomless "well of the past" in his search, he fails to produce a single, known human society which experiences this no-time, pointed to only what he claims are its vestiges—all examples of a primitive, vernacular, organic time—in the Tiv, Nuer and Hopi. These peoples, too, have experienced this gradual Fall from a timeless paradise. His no-time is presently nowhere.

aware human being in the process of gestation and birth. The salt in our blood has been considered a vestige of our origins in the sea. The myth of the no-time is perhaps a metaphor representing this reality, an innate recognition not only of our one-celled origins, before "birth" and "death," before human "minding" and the recognition of our uniqueness and specificity before the universe. It is at the same time, correspondingly, a memory of the womb.



A traveller hiking through the countryside came upon a farmer who, arms outstretched, was holding a pig up to the dangling apples of an apple tree. The pig, secure and content in the farmer's hands, was munching noisily on the crispy apples.

Traveller: What are you doing?

Farmer: I'm feeding my pig some apples.

Traveller (incredulous): Don't you think it would save a lot of time if you would just climb the tree and shake some apples down?

Farmer: Save time? What's time to a pig?

Here it is rather significant that John also points to the earliest stages of infancy as an indication of no-time. In that sphere, there is no conflict, no trauma, no separation; the womb is a microcosm of the universe of our prehuman animalhood, unaltered and unmediated nature. But as alienation begins in John's view in early infancy for the child, it seems inevitable that the same "mythological event" of separation will take place in the early emergence of human consciousness. For the primitive, nature issues from a womb, the great Mother. As Campbell observes,

"The state of the child in the womb is one of bliss, actionless bliss, and this state may be compared to the beatitude visualized as paradise. In the womb, the child is unaware of the alternation of night and day, or of any of the images of temporality. It should not be surprising, therefore, if the metaphors used to represent eternity suggest to those trained in the symbolism of the infantile unconsciousness, retreat to the womb."

But separation becomes a precondition for growth, for knowledge. The individual, now separated from nature, develops an ambivalent relationship to her. The earliest traumas are presented here. Mother, no longer a blissful total environment, becomes alternately a protectress

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bits of the world in brief



On Sunday, July 17, at around 1:30 am, two masked men carrying machine guns broke into the house in Comiso, Sicily functioning as the coordinating center for the groups against the U.S. cruise missile base. Once inside they lined all the occupants up against the wall and aimed their guns.

About 20 people were subjected to this terror. They included most of the Anarchismo group from Catania and other local anti-militarists. A blast was fired in the direction where Alfredo Bonanno stood and it was later discovered that a bullet had passed through his clothing. The two intruders then ordered everyone in the house to get out of Comiso for good. The two men are assumed to have been mafiosi.

Those in the house are lucky to still be alive. The mafia have clearly made a threat. And their threats are to be taken seriously. Their interest in the cruise missile base is economic. With the base come thousands of U.S. troops, their families, back-up personnel and service industries. For the mafia the base automatically means an increase in drug trafficking, prostitution, gambling, and other "business interests."

The attack by the mafia came only a few days before the planned occupation of the missile base. The occupation took place on the 22nd, 23rd, and 24th of July with libertarians and anti-militarists coming from all over Europe to help with the occupation. Upon hearing of the armed attack on the coordinating center, already many local and non-local people have committed themselves to defending those threatened from any more possible intimidatory measures.

The issue in Comiso is not just about the cruise missile, not just about the base of U.S. troops, not just about NATO and the East-West war machine, not just about

local corruption and the economic exploitation of the Sicilian working class and peasantry, but about the collaboration of the State, of big business, of organized crime, of the security forces, of all the political parties and of international capital in ensuring that the desire for freedom and peace is unrealized.

(For up to date information, write to: Coordinamento, Leghe Autogestite, via Conte Torino 1, 97013 Comiso, Sicily, Italy; telephone 0932 966289.

On Sept. 26 some 1200 protesters from all over Italy successfully blockaded the cruise missile site in Comiso. Local residents, some government officials, and clergy international supporters caused work at the construction site for the cruise to be halted for a day by blocking the four entrances. The U.S. plans to deploy 112 cruise missiles at Comiso by the end of the year.

Police attempted to dislodge the protesters with water cannons and tear gas. A number were beaten when they refused to move. Construction workers refused to cross the blockade lines and 10 workers already inside left.

A marcher from the U.S. said, "They saw the police beat up the people and they didn't want people beaten up on their behalf, so they wouldn't go in."

—from the *Guardian*

Greek anarchists, Photis Danatos and Kyriakos Miras, after surviving a 58-day prison hunger strike earlier this year to protest their continuing legal harassment by authorities (see "Bits of the World in Brief," FE Summer 1983) have both been forced to go underground.

Seven days after the two were released in May following massive public protests over their detainment, Danatos was again

arrested and began a second hunger strike. Miras immediately went on the run. Danatos was transferred to a civilian hospital and managed to escape (much like Kropotkin) aided by two comrades.

Miras and Danatos have been the constant victims of the government's displeasure with Danatos having spent three years in prison following the 1979 "events in the St. Barbara quarter" of Athens.

Supporters of the two are asking for comrades to protest to Greek embassies or write Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou. The anarchist fugitives may be contacted through Basilis Karaplis, Lawyer, 8 Aristidou str., Athens, Greece.

As usual, the Republican Party will have unwelcome visitors at its presidential convention scheduled for August 1984 in Dallas, Texas. The Yippies, who planned the 1980 Detroit Republican convention fiasco (see FE Oct. 20, 1980), and a large range of activist groups including our friends in the Columbia (Mo.) Anarchist League are planning a week of protests. The theme of the demonstrations will be "if the G.O.P. won't stop the war... We'll stop the G.O.P." Particularly given the name of the coalition, "Freeze Reagan/Bush in '84," our fear is always with such activity that, although militant in form, it winds up to be a left field pitch for the Democrats. Still, when organized well (although they rarely are) these mass spectacles can be fun. If you're interested, there's a planning conference set for Nov. 19-21; contact the above group at POB 8708, Madison WI 53708.



If I eat shit food at McDonalds, I'm only hurting myself and making Board Chairman Ray Kroc richer, right? Actually, no. As it turns out there's a direct link between America's love of fast-food hamburgers and the destruction of tropical rain forests in Central and South America. Thousands of acres, particularly in Guatemala and the southern Mexican state of Chiapas, are being cleared to provide room for grazing cattle. The cheaper beef is exported to the U.S. where the principle buyers are fast-food chains. To add to the tragedy, the cleared land can only support grazing for a short duration due to nutrient depletion of the soil, so the cattle producers move on and clear more forests. These fragile ecosystems being laid to waste in order to put Big Macs in American gullets are irreplaceable. They are often primordial forests which support an amazing range of plant and animal life that exist in a delicate balance. Once these areas are gone, it is a permanent loss; all for a shit burger.

The current issue of the *Match! Box* 3488, Tucson, AZ 85722) had a good idea for those who bridle at the pervasiveness of religion in this country. From the "In

God We Trust" on U.S. money to President Reagan's referring to Cabinet appointees as "god fearing," religion rears its ugly head everywhere. The Match! suggests that instead of referring to cities by religious titles, why not designate them by secular titles? Examples? *Mr. Louis* rather than the odious *St. Louis*, or *Señor Francisco* rather than the catholic *San Francisco*. Silly? Certainly, but no more so than to have to abide by the religious superstition thrust upon us by theists.

Just as we were going to press, word came from the Federation Anarchiste Francaise that Radio Libertaire has been granted a legal broadcasting frequency by the French government. This surprise move comes even though the authorities contended it was impossible to have more than 22 radio bands operating. R-L's broadcasting hours will be slightly reduced by the unexpected legitimization, but the French anarchist broadcasters hailed it as a victory.

The decision to grant the "impossible" 23rd frequency came as a result of an intensive campaign of support for R-L both in France and internationally, according to the FAF.

short attention spans. Others develop complicated rationalizations for non-support. It is too much for some people that the alleged abortion took place in the home without the divine guidance of a doctor. This supposed affront to professionalism is used to discredit us as neo-flower children.

All in all, these events have not given us any more faith in the left. We do however now know much more clearly who our friends are and who can be counted on in times of trouble.

We still need financial assistance. These lawyers fees are deadly even if the lawyers aren't out to become wealthy. It has sentenced us to indefinite terms of paid labor and this seems to be cruel and unusual punishment in itself. The state strategy of disrupting people's lives and work through criminal charges works quite effectively. Not much is gained by denying that. If anyone can help out financially, or politically, please write to Bulldozer, P.O.B. 5052, Stn A, Toronto, Ont., Canada.

Bulldozer No. 6 as well as previous issues are available through the Fifth Estate Bookstore, but we encourage orders to go directly to the above address as a show of support.

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and a threat. Separation from the breast begins to take the "shape of time." So it is even more interesting that mother goddesses take the form of this protectress/threat. "The Hindu mother-goddess Kali," Campbell notes, a variant of a widely diffused archetypal cannibal-mother, and who as the "Black One" is the personification of "all-consuming time," "is represented with her long tongue lolling to lick up the lives and blood of her children. She is the very pattern of the sow that eats her farrow, the cannibal ogress: life itself, the universe, which sends forth beings only to consume them." She is the goddess of food and abundance, birth and fecundity, yet death, too, the terror of time—a duality which reflects not an oppressive alienation, but the human condition. I have always enjoyed the FE's (only partially) tongue-in-cheek, provocative cry, "Back to the Stone Age!" But to try to supersede the boundaries of this life-death duality, this consciousness which realizes its own subjectivity, with all of its conflicts and limitations, this consciousness of selfhood before a marvelous and terrible universe, reflects a desire also to return to the womb. Understandable in its attractiveness (hence the myths), but impossible.

Primitive peoples, through rituals and myth, reproduce the no-time as a living reality. By recognizing "this dual mystery, wherein the timeless and the temporal are the same," they neither suppress existence within organic time nor the dream-time, "the realm that is seen again in dream and shown forth in the rites." Because primitives live in cyclic, organic time, and because they can revive this timelessness in moments of ceremony and ecstasy, they can live more in the immediate present, to fully experience their world. They know, like the zen devotee, to eat when they are hungry and sleep when they are tired. But they also engage in purposeful, planned, temporal activities. An example of such zen-like, duality is to be found, among other human activities, in gardening, which combines the sensuous pleasure of the immediate moment with an understanding that what takes place today will bear fruit in the future.

Human life if it is to maintain continuity, cannot be timeless, with out a past and a future, and ecstasy by definition cannot exist except in contrast to the rather more mundane activities of the rest of life. Actually, it is modern capitalism, with its fetishized promise of instant gratification, eternal youth, and soma-induced paradise, which wrecks such duality and therefore ecstasy. Or, rather, it colonizes, counterfeits true ecstasy in its technical hubris against nature. Freedom demands that the duality and its ambivalence not be suppressed, but maintained. To desire to return to prehuman existence is to abandon freedom and to abandon our very human nature.

Just as the first two points complemented and flowed into one another, the last two are also interconnected. John's estimation of the character of the present day is linked to his view of our prospects. He believes that since the late Middle Ages there has never been such a strong wave of resistance against time as there is today. What is his evidence? He points to the "articulation" of the anti-time impulse in the "quickening movement" before World War I, for example, and likewise to the acceleration of time and the pace of modernity in our own period. The use of psychedelic drugs, such situationist slogans as "Quick!" on the walls of Paris in 1968, and an increasingly widespread anxiety and desperation on the part of people, and their inability to accept the ideology of the Glorious Future, in the face of our sense of acceleration towards the abyss are also evidence.

Desperation Is Only a Sign of Crisis

I think that he confuses the crisis with what he perceives as its imminent resolution, something he has done elsewhere. In his essay, "The Promise of the '80s", for example, he associated random, individual (and mob) acts of nihilism, violence and despair with the coming revolution. The fact that institutional legitimacy is in disarray was evidence enough that people were preparing to contest the rule of capital. This was also the picture he drew of late nineteenth century society, which he compared with our own period, in his article on the origins of World War I. But it is my feeling that he missed the implications of his own



study: that such desperation is only a sign of crisis—posing a tremendous problem, but not its supersession by autonomous revolt. In the case of World War I, it was capital which provided the release of the pent up violent energies and desires bursting the seams of capitalist society. A period of widespread disaffection gave way in a trumpet blast to mass mobilization and mechanization for trench warfare and unparalleled slaughter. This avenue is no less a possibility today, except that the violence, like the level of crisis and disaffection, will be that much greater.

Capital, too, is "revolution": capital strains against time and history, against the weight of the ages it drags in its wake. Capital, too, tends to move toward "dissolving" history. Just as John tends to confuse the signals of crisis with those of autonomous rebellion, he blurs the possibilities of a human, libertarian resolution of our alienation with that of capital's strategy. Ironic as it may seem, the European conquests of the world were carried out by people attempting to annul time and their history: it was capital's solution to the cultural crisis in late medieval Europe for people to "flee time," exchanging it for the open, "empty" spaces of the colonial world. In this way they were able to begin the process all over again on a new, more death-dealing plateau. (Also, ironically, it is in this respect which John's notion of spatialization makes perfect sense.)

It is possible that it would also be in the interests of capital to unambiguously annul time and history within the context of a "timeless," memoryless technical universe—a utopian panopticon, the history of its crimes dissolved by computers, drugs and psychological technique. And though it is necessary to be against the process of history (which is the process of the rise and triumph of the state), it seems equally necessary for us now to maintain a certain ambivalence towards that history as contested terrain. For history is the labyrinth in which we have become lost, and the minotaur which devours us. But it is also in a sense our only thread leading back to the entrance and our only way out. Hence, the call to "dissolve" technological civilization (consider the alchemical implications of such a phrase) by annuling time and history is not so much wrong to people seeking a way out of the technological mire and renew community, as it is incoherent. It is a proposal to resist not only technology but even technics; not only mass society but society; not only standardized, monolithic, statified language but poetic, vernacular, convivial language; not only official history but memory; not

only time domination but awareness of the cycles of life; not only alienation from nature but our uniqueness, our consciousness as human subjects, in relation to it.

And it is also erroneous, for in spite of all the resistance to history, if we could annul it, dissolve it, what would keep us from repeating the same mistakes as before? Only memory, only by facing history. We cannot afford to annul it, we must confront it—in this way bring an end to this cycle. As novelist Milan Kundera has written, "the struggle of man [and woman] against power is the struggle of memory against forgetting."

Civilization cannot be dissolved. If it could, what would prevent the spreading cultural and biological entropy it has set in motion (or at least aggravated to an unprecedented degree) from overwhelming us in the moment of our timeless "ecstasy"? It has to be dismantled, and that is, to our misfortune but unavoidably, a uniquely historical task. It is necessary to resist the imposition of abstract, mechanized state-time, leviathan-time, in our lives, to return time to its natural, limited place in our lives, to abolish its regime. But we have been scarred by history—and we cannot deny the scars. We cannot abolish the Fall, we carry it with us, and we cannot fantasize escaping its consequences. They, too, are a part of our universe. John said as much by quoting Goethe: "Only he who has experienced history can judge it."

It is understandable that the desire for freedom presses not only against the constraints imposed upon us by modern civilization; but against the very limits of the human organism, against the natural conditions of life. Baudelaire's poem "The Enemy" reflects such a protest against nature:

"—Oh sorrow! Oh sorrow! Time eats my life.
And the obscure Enemy who knows our hearts
From the blood we lose grows and fortifies himself!

For Baudelaire, as for modernity, freedom is an unquenchable thirst which yearns to burst all limits. But this yearning is just as much the motor by which capital ravages the present to colonize the future, thus extirpating any possibilities for us to renew and to deepen the sources of life. Only a recognition of organic human limits can save us from the unlimited expansion of capital. By maintaining our ambivalence towards history both as the source of our agony and the possible key to our release, we may find a way to renew that duality between the eternal present of no-time and the necessity for temporal, purposeful activities to maintain human continuity. I think that it will allow us to deepen our discourse, prevent it from becoming monolithic.

There is no "first cause," and therefore no single and unambiguous solution to the problem. No matter what, we should not let our questioning become transformed into an attempt, whether through zeal or through desperation, to impose totalizing, one-dimensional answers. Perhaps in this way we can begin truly to confront the enemy which lies within all of us as it does within our culture, and thereby encounter the concrete, practical resolution to our wanderings and renew the sources of paradise, the "dream-time."

—George Bradford
Chas de Semide, Portugal

John Zerzan replies: My conjecture/dream/hypothesis is certainly in no way definitive; I realize, for example, that no one, certainly including me, has even adequately defined objectified time. I have tried to discuss or at least imagine a world without it and to assemble a few points for discussion around its genesis. This has evoked conservative fears in some, it seems to me, and a consequent defense of time, in the shape of its projected reform.

Rather than write a long-winded defense of particulars of the essay—or of faults in the arguments against it—let's just leave it to whatever readers to consider for themselves.

ON "PEOPLE'S THEATRE" CULTURE AS CANNIBALISM

The stage is set, houselights go out, curtain opens and a poignant silence reigns as actors hit the stage. Always the audience looks at the skin; arms and legs, usually attractive faces. The audience licks its lips. Honest observation must concede that beyond the facade of cultural awareness the real reason mass audiences attend the theatre or cinema lurks the haunting spectacle of cannibalism.

Is it really a coincidence that the real start of the season for Broadway plays and film programs occurs in the autumn when the time for barbeques has ended? Or that the current spate of high-tech science fiction flicks (Star Wars, etc.) and the video mania coincides with the development of micro-wave ovens, blenders, and Weber grills?

This is not meant to be a pro-vegetarian critique. Grazing people, you will find, most likely attend the ballet or modern dance performances en masse with similar sentiments. The dancer leaps, she may as well be reaching for nuts or fruit; or stoops, to come up with a root or yam.

The point is, as Freud noted, and Whitman witnessed, in the flesh, so to speak, Art is of the body. Art is the expression of childhood sensuality and is a substitute gratification for what we've lost (been forced to give up). In a mass consumer society the distance between the spectator and play is double when you consider that it is the performer who enjoys the fruit of this sublimation directly. Cannibalism is a phenomena of desperate need, of consuming that fruit, which we cannot have, by eating those that do.

Cannibalism occurs at times of crisis, during the most precarious relation with nature. Severed from the fertile ground of being, in this hyper-rational desert, a rampant hunger exerts itself. The thirst for experience, the hunger for instinctual gratification in the concrete imbroglio is merely titillated by the indirect perversions of the imaginary products of commercial artists.

Hungry for what? Man, I tell you to strip naked and howl on your roof tonight at the moon and clouds. Or wander aimlessly through a landfill by candlelight.



Hungry for art? Top choice candidates for a tasty dinner—two players from Detroit's Freezer Theater in a scene from a feast long past. Eat hearty!

biasm. Culture is cannibalism, a clear sign of instinctual desperation.

The People's Theatre Movement

In the late 1950's and early 1960's America started experiencing street eruptions associated with Civil Rights and Anti-war demonstrations. As by magnetism, theatre on the streets followed. Groups like the Mime Troupe in San Francisco, and the Living Theatre in New York, decided to take Art directly to the people to speed up the awakening of a new consciousness sweeping the land. They also would perform in parks, in living rooms and rented storefronts, disdaining the technical trap-trap that makes much of Art so expensive and disingenuous.

Since that time nearly every major city has experienced the phenomena of performers stepping out of the boundaries of traditional theatre. For one thing, the break against society that the Viet Nam war inspired in youth reached a nearly

ferred to this phenomena as "Woodstock Nation," but it became clear that music could only partially accommodate the demands of consciousness rising. The idea of a new theatre, while it never approached the numerical appeal of music, could find a willing audience.

Hence arose the Free Southern Theatre of New Orleans, Family Circus of Portland, Word of Mouth Woman's Theatre of Boston, Bread and Puppet Theatre in Vermont, Second City in Chicago, etc. Probably a hundred or more theatre groups (that are documented) arose around the issues of racism, sexism, anti-capitalism and more.

Of course, what many artists in divergent fields have discovered, is that apart from various facets of diseased American culture to work against, and organize around, it is the very fabric and structure of the culture—it is repressive and anti-erotic nature itself—that demands a more protracted and comprehensive struggle to

abound, however, and while there is large agreement that American culture, indeed, Western Civilization has decayed to the point of barbarism, if indeed it was ever anything but barbarism exalted and sanctified by inertia, there is little unity among its various opponents.

A magazine in Minnesota, *Theatrework*, has been put together by a part of this theatre movement in the last two years, which has been working to unify the movement, even while it gives reports of the groups and allows space for the performers and other cultural critics to expound their work and their views. Originally, *Theatrework* was exciting as reports flew in of experiments in all parts of the country and the world. The magazine's sponsors, a performing group themselves called Cherry Creek Theatre, has welcomed wide participation and even organized a large festival for many groups called the Gathering, which occurred in a small Minnesota town last summer.

Establishes Artistic Bureaucracy

While I never attended the Gathering, I followed its progress closely and with pleasure as its exuberant energy flowed out of the pages of *Theatrework*. I also was inspired to write about "The Freezer Theatre" in *Theatrework*, which was a Detroit version of the Alternative Theatre experience. In the year that ensued since the Gathering, however, I sadly watched as the magazine, and presumably its collective producers have sunk into an ever more insipid and treacherous position.

David Olson, the apparent leader of the Cherry Creek Theatre and editor of the magazine, has apparently taken advantage of the power and exuberance generated by the various components and adventurous adherents of the free theatre movement, and with certain others is trying to forge a bureaucratic priesthood to preside over the movement. The seeds for this bureaucratic counterrevolution already existed in an organization called NAPNOC, the Neighborhood Arts Programs National Organizing Committee, which meets in Omaha and maps out a programmatic strategy for organizing "radical" artists and which seeks to forge them into a political power capable of controlling and influencing the interest of artists permanently.

Hence, in the last report of NAPNOC's meeting, as reported in *Theatrework*, revealing elements of this strategy came in to the open. NAPNOC wants to "Network" the various "progressive" theatres in the country to expedite touring, publicity and cultural exchange. NAPNOC disdains the use of the word "artist" (not a bad idea) but supplants this with the concept of "cultural worker" (yech). NAPNOC sees that the progressive theatre people are poorly funded and inefficient programmers and wants to change this.

even the briefest experience in the political battles of the last twenty years that NAPNOC wants to be that bureaucracy. Already, at the University of Omaha, where Doug Paterson is a professor and NAPNOC organizer, there is a graduate program for work in "People's Theatre" where the "materials to work with are the citizens of Nebraska, South Dakota, and Iowa as a start." I found this out from a large, and shamelessly self-serving ad on the second page of the last *Theatrework* that I read before I cut off all contact with them.

Doug Paterson, with his Dakota Theatre Caravan, has a working theory of theatre, by the way, that makes up in exuberance what it lacks in vision. The DTC would (and does) go to a town and proceed to "interrogate" waiters, farmers, garage mechanics, nursing home residents—anyone somehow considered "small-townish" and collects a history of the people's lives and their area. Then the theatre troupe would "tell the people's story" in their own words" by performing in front of them what is supposed to be "people's theatre."

Besides being patronizing and one-dimensional, this kind of theatre merely elevates alienation to the aesthetic level. Doug Paterson is building a workers cult in a glorious struggle to keep people doing exactly what they have been doing all of their lives, reproducing Capital. Such experiments in socialist realism are precisely the tool the Soviet Union posits as the only theatre allowable and fits nicely into NAPNOC's project of lyrical inanity.

Simply put, NAPNOC is an organization for co-opting the free movement and expression of creative people, to put their creativity to the service of enhancing the careers of bureaucrats in the government and the university. It would, should NAPNOC succeed, be up to these shills whether or not a person's creative activity is to be recognized as socially progressive, or creatively useful. If the work of commercial producers and galleries today is a form of cannibalism, the success of a group like NAPNOC would be the fostering of cannibalistic excrement.

My program for cultural work, however, is to quit working. It is bad enough that the freestyle of imagination, sometimes emerging in objects and performances as "art," finds so little room to move and so few people to play. It is no consolation to find people so interested in perpetuating this situation, especially when they are people who should know better. People who make a living doing art are no more to be legitimized than should be people who "earn" a living doing cars, or doing dishes in restaurants.

The point is, as Freud said, that culture is neurosis—culture is our reward for giving up our childhood, and is a devil's bargain

lessly through a landfill by candlelight, with swimfins and lace—you'll get more cultural insight than by squatting, a la commode, before some Fellini Technogram.

Art is play and belongs to the pleasure principle, and is beautiful, but mostly for the artist. What is imagination but the active movement of images? The passive consumption of images may be beautiful, but be they another's images, its cannibalism.

Demonstrations & The Fate of the Earth

Continued from Page 1

In fact, the ascendancy of a deranged instrumental rationality is the *triumph of the irrational* in civilized disguise: autistic schizoids frenziedly combining and recombining elements of their environment, control freaks creating haywire Frankensteins that crush the flower of life in their attempts to embrace it.

The exterminist war machine is merely the tip of

war inspired in youth reached a nearly hysterical peak; as did a new consciousness engendered by drugs, music, communal and socialist experiments, people walked away from mainstream American culture and it was a long walk. It was more than clear that television had no answers for a new identity that sought and still seeks itself, nor does the commercial stage, or a commercial anything. Musical forms expanded to the degree that some wags re-

protracted and comprehensive struggle to build a new culture from within.

The Play Is The Thing

Since the end of the Viet Nam war, and after some partial successes by the civil rights and feminist movements, the hysteria has abated, many of the groups have disbanded, but new ones have arrived and older ones continue to work to alter the nature of the society. Political differences

poorly funded and inefficient programmatically and wishes to install a 1930's WPA type program where the government gives substantial and permanent funding to these "cultural workers," thereby establishing a permanent artistic bureaucracy which will see to it that artists no longer have to "go begging" for money, and that they are recognized as legitimate workers performing legitimate work in society.

It should be obvious to anyone with

up our childhood, and is a devil's bargain foremost. We are hungry: We hunger to touch and to play. We hunger to sing and to dance and to paint. We hunger for beauty and in the most sad and private way, whether we want to or not. Beauty is not merely the feast, it's the hunger as well.

—Ratticus

Sex & Pain

Continued from Page 6

usefulness) we learn is that pain is more significant, more applicable in more situations than pleasure could ever be. It is not long before we learn that pleasure, or play, is in fact *wasting time*.

I won't get much deeper into the multitudinous aspects of this, it's too painful. I will reassert that the mere quantification of orgasmic experiences does not alter the basic structure of our being; as I've hinted all along, it is a qualitative transformation we need to prepare for the old world that's been denied us and the new world we can create.

Also, I was not kidding when I said that we have outlandish ecstasy at our disposal preimmediately. For while we are being trained for years to develop our ability to experience pain, we are not doing its opposite which would ordinarily be the case. Infantile sexuality is our point of departure, think for a second what adult sexuality might be if cultivated so ardently. It would be enough to suggest that primitives, as is demonstrable to those needing documentation, may enjoy your standard roll in the hay, but they have so much fun that I doubt they clamour about "sex" one tenth as much as we.

Why do we devote novels, films, TV bar time, clothing and hair styles—in other words, almost all of our cultural activity toward and around the genital act? This is almost all we have left of pleasure and of course, that is exploited to the maximum.

When there is no alien world—no alien beings—then you can talk about an Earth Mother in a meaningful sense, a sensual meaning. When you die you will see that all along you were in a radiant cradle rocking in such unimaginable enjoyment that an orgasm will be as a yawn, but even though this is guaranteed and easily verifiable, nothing you see would seem to indicate it. As you know, there are so many who would say you do not even deserve it then. In essence the motto of any conceivable civilization—because this is its *raison d'être*—is FEEL BAD BECAUSE WE SAY SO.

But really, sex is one of the great absurd tragedies of the present world. How many suicides over it or lack of it? How much petty arrogance over its acquisition leads to smug satisfaction. Remember, bogus sexuality is the coin of this world, not money. Money is to buy land, cars, houses, power—all accoutrements of bogus sexuality. The biggest winners are still losers if they don't got that kid stuff, that spontaneity which alone is the sign and the coin of true happiness. Spontaneity, kid's stuff, is the key to the locks everywhere.

Because spontaneity is the movement of nature, so-called music is not music. It is civilized harmony, artificially imposed rhythm. Because spontaneity is the movement of nature, there is no program to follow, no plan. Also, because spontaneity is the movement of nature unlimited, existence, freedom and pleasure cannot be manufactured, but is available constantly. This is easily verifiable, demonstrable, and perfectly obvious.

—Ratticus

an iceberg; beneath the surface, the exterminist industrial system is quietly digging our graves. It takes only a minimal exercise of the imagination to see that the human and ecological consequences of a nuclear war are only a concentrated, accelerated instance of the ecological catastrophe slowly accumulating as the result of industrial society's "normal operations." (Indeed, the mere *accumulation* of

(unexploded) nuclear warheads is part of a supremely destructive process: Scientists continue to debate how and where to store the millions of tons of high level nuclear wastes that have accumulated over the past 40 years. These by-products of nuclear reactors and weapons tests will have to be stored in containers impervious to leakage for hundreds of thousands, even *millions* of years—thus suggesting a new meaning to the word *hubris*.)

None of this is a revelation; in fact, anyone with a TV set or a subscription to a daily newspaper has some awareness of the gathering ecological apocalypse. It's likely, therefore, that the willingness of large numbers of ordinary people to participate in the Euromissile demonstrations is due in part to their growing anxiety about the fate of the earth, a dawning awareness that something must be done, and soon. Without really knowing what to do, even doubtful that *anything* can be done, people nevertheless feel the existential need to physically oppose themselves to the nuclear juggernaut.

For others, hatred of this society has become palpable. Whether squatters in Amsterdam, shanty-town



The harassment of Canadian anarchists is apparently unending. We have just received word of the indictment of Abie Weisfeld, active in many Canadian anti-authoritarian projects including the Focus Books and Art Collective in Toronto, on charges of "welfare fraud." The charge stems from Abie's signing a vendor's license to permit Focus to do business while he was receiving a welfare stipend. The Crown (prosecution) states that as a business owner, Abie is not entitled to provincial aid. The offense is a felony and is clearly aimed at silencing Weisfeld and disrupting the functioning of the bookstore. A newsletter describing the events is available from Abie at: Box 965, Station B, Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5R1, Canada. Focus Books should also be supported. They may be reached at 717½ Queen Street E., Toronto, Ontario M4M 1H1, Canada.

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News & Reviews

Sorry for such a short column of News & Reviews this issue, but we are short of space this time around. Keep sending us news of your publications and activities—we like to read them and promise to give them more space next issue.

For news of political prisoners in Spain, write to: *Associacio de Familiars i Amics dels presos polítics, Rda. Sant Pere, 32, 1er. E, Barcelona 10, Spain.* Information comes in Spanish and Catalan.

Blacklisted News announces *The New Yippie Book!* is now in print. 750 pages of material reprinted from the *Yippie Times* and *Overthrow*, as well as new material covering the demonstrations, guerrilla theatre and civil disobedience the Yippies participated in during the past twenty years. Available from **Blacklisted News**, P. O. Box 392, Canal Street Station, New York NY 10013.

Now open is **Freeroll**, Idaho's first Libertarian Socialist/Anarchist bookstore, with over 400 titles dealing with anarchism and related topics presently in stock. To receive a current book catalog/free literature list, write: R. Carr, P. O. Box 341, Bora Station, Boise, Idaho 83701.

A reader from Columbia, Missouri, who hosts a weekly radio show of international music and discussion writes to us for the following request: An anti-authoritarian radio programmer needs cassette tapes on international issues. If you can assist, write **Caravans**, KOPN, 915 E. Broadway, Columbia, MO 65201.

readers' ads

We rarely receive enough readers' ads to warrant grouping them in a column, but we are always glad to assist our readers in communicating with one another.

Books on the Russian Revolution

October marked the 66th anniversary of the 1917 Russian Revolution as well as the assumption of state power by the firing squad party, the Bolsheviks.

Throughout the gulag-states there were military processions and official pseudo-celebrations to celebrate the Bolshevik's counter-revolutionary coup, and here in the West, various leftist sects held boring, poorly attended seances to commemorate the date. All of them, whether they represent Leninism in power (Brezhnev's "real existing socialism") or Leninism out of power (the 57 varieties of Trotskyism, Maoism and Stalinism of the Western parties), will be defending the mystifications of the monolithic machine which strangled the revolution.

October is also the 27th anniversary of the Hungarian rebellion of 1956 which is the most celebrated of the many revolts against Stalinist rule. The following books are a small contribution to the process of demystification of those events and a call for renewing the struggle against all forms of domination.

Books On The Russian Revolution

THE UNKNOWN REVOLUTION

by B. Voline

A massive history of the Russian Revolution, long unavailable in English, and unflavored by leninist or bourgeois distortions and lies. Written by a participant gives a sweeping view of events including the role of the anarchist movement. Foreword by Rudolph Rocker.

Black & Red 717pp \$6.00

BOLSHEVIKS & WORKERS CONTROL

by Maurice Brinton

An excellent chronology and analysis of the Bolshevik betrayal of the revolution from the seizure of the factories to the crushing of the Kronstadt Commune.

Black & Red 100pp \$1.95

HISTORY OF THE MAKHNOVIST MOVEMENT

by Peter Arshinov

Execution account of the anarchist/communist



An independently produced leaflet from several years ago (updated) showing an armed worker delighting over the blazing tomes of the counter-revolution's ideology. photo from HUNGARY '56

THE KRONSTADT UPRISE OF 1921

by Lynne Thordycraft

Story of the heroic Kronstadt uprising against Bolshevik tyranny and its ruthless suppression by the Leninists

POLAND: 1970-71

by Informations Correspondance Ouvrière

"The cover photo of this pamphlet showing the blazing Communist Party headquarters in the

NEW ARRIVALS

THE REVOLUTION OF EVERYDAY LIFE

by Raoul Vaneigem

A long out-of-print Situationist International (SI) classic recently re-issued by Rebel Press in England and Left Bank Books of Seattle. This edition has a new translation approved by the author. Vaneigem was one of the founders of the SI and this book was published in 1967; the same year as Guy Debord's *SOCIETY OF THE SPECTACLE*; the two works were meant to complement each other. "Written in the street cafes of Paris between 1963-65, THE REVOLUTION OF EVERYDAY LIFE seemed to reflect exactly the mood of the revolutionaries of May '68." From the jacket.

Rebel/Left Bank 216pp \$9.50

KICK IT OVER No. 8 1984 Preview Issue

The publication of an extremely active anarcha-feminist collective in Toronto, KIO features articles on the current crisis of repression in Canada, a continuing debate on pornography, the politics of pot, Agent Orange, welfare warfare and other topical issues.

\$1.00

ON THE POVERTY OF BERKELEY LIFE and the Marginal Stratum of American Society in. General

by Chris Shutes

The examination of Berkeley, Calif. as the prototype of life on the margins of capitalist society. An exposure of self-delusion about work, "hip" business, and consumption. Cruel, but fair. Ends with a fairly hopeful chapter on events in South Africa.

Self-published 52pp \$2.50

Lessons of the Spanish Revolution

by Vernon Richards

Just reprinted by Freedom Press, this edition contains new footnotes by the author and a review of Hugh Thomas' *THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR*. Richards' critical views of the revolution, the role of the CNT and FAI, and libertarian tactics, makes it as controversial and valuable as it was when the first edition was published 30 years ago. Highly recommended.

Freedom Press 256pp \$5.75

AGAINST HIS-STORY, AGAINST LEVIATHAN

by Fredy Perlman

In a poetic style which leaves the terrain of history as it excoriates it, AGAINST LEVIATHAN traces the origins of the state, the destruction of myth-centered, communarian, free societies by authoritarian machines and economic social relations, the varied forms of resistance to and flight from the state.

Black & Red 302pp \$3.00

INTERNATIONAL BLACKLIST,

by the Blacklist Group

An amazingly extensive listing of anarchist and libertarian publications, bookstores, organizations (ugh!), and contacts throughout the world. It's incredible that so many addresses could be assembled in one volume, but it's been done & attractively so.

Self-published 140pp \$3.50

PROTEST WITHOUT ILLUSIONS

by Vernon Richards

This collection of articles from the

The Charles H. Kerr Company, the world's oldest nonsectarian publisher of socialist and labor literature, is putting together a compendium entitled *Who's Who in U.S. Prisons: 1984*. The book will gather short sketches of those imprisoned for labor, feminist, environmentalist, anti-racist, peace, anti-imperialist and other such activities. It will also include persons whose offenses are not strictly political but who are victims of racist, sexist and anti-gay prosecutions. The Kerr Co. asks defense committees and civil liberties organizations, as well as prisoners themselves, to write Charles H. Kerr Co., 1740 Greenleaf Ave., Suite 7, Chicago IL 60626 with information on such cases.

The Emma Goldman Papers Project seeks letters, articles, speeches by or about Emma Goldman (1869-1940), prominent anarchist and feminist in the U.S. from 1890-1919. Contact: EGPP, UC Berkeley, Institute for the Study of Social Change, 2420 Bowditch, Berkeley CA 94720.

People interested in being in plays and skits on libertarian themes (to be put on at Cafe Detroit) contact S. Colman at 833-3023.

A group of Montreal anarchists have recently pooled their personal resources to purchase the building which houses the Librairie Alternatives Bookstore. This is a non-profit project whose purpose is to establish a libertarian documentation center, and provide a meeting place for various groups in the community. We desperately need funding so that we can pay off the bank loan and start to make the necessary renovations to the building. No amount is too small! For further information please write, or send your donations to: L'Association des Espaces d'Espaces Libres et Imaginaires (AEELI), 2033 St. Laurent, Montreal, Quebec H2A 2T3.

Ghost writer(s) desperately needed for four women to tell "true extremely fast life" stories from behind prison walls. From the cocaine factories of South America to the streets of London, through the ghettos of Cleveland to the heart of Harlem. Please contact Lucia Torres No. 15134, 1479 Collins Ave., Marysville OH 43040.

For many years we, as war tax resisters, have openly stated our refusal to willingly pay for the tragedy of war. Once again we affirm life by declaring our opposition to the increasing militarism of our society. Please join us in a statement of personal empowerment which appear in local and national newspapers and magazines. For copies of the statement and information about war tax resistance, write: War Tax Resistance National Ad Campaign, 402 S. Glendale, Ann Arbor MI 48103.

Ensuring success of the anarchist peasant revolution in the Ukraine, with telling revelations about the nature of Bolshevik military and social policy.

Black & Red 284pp. \$3.75

THE POVERTY OF STATISM: A DEBATE by Fabbri, Rocker, Bukharin

Contains Nikolai Bukharin's officially-sponsored attack on anarchism published in the Soviet Union in 1922, and Luigi Fabbri's reply published in Italy the same year. Also, two articles by Rudolf Rocker, "Anarchism and Sovietism," and "Marx and Anarchism."

Cienfuegos Press \$3.50

THE GUILLOTINE AT WORK

by Gregory Petrovich Maximoff

Develops the theme that the stalinist terror of the 1930's, the bureaucratisation of Russian society, the imperialist escapades, through to today's lack of human rights in Russia and other East European countries are not aberrations in the development of socialist society, but rather a logical development in Marxist philosophy and action. It serves one main purpose: "to dispel the aura which Lenin's disciples have bestowed on him by showing that Lenin was primarily concerned with attaining power and holding on to it as a dictator by means of terror."

Black Thorn Books 337 pp. reduced (1) \$8.00

THE RUSSIAN TRAGEDY

by Alexander Berkman

Two years in his native Russia provided both the background material for this analysis of the revolution and its betrayal by the communists. Contains three articles, originally published separately as pamphlets in 1922, "The Russian Tragedy," "The Russian Revolution and the Communist Party," and "The Kronstadt Rebellion."

Cienfuegos Press 112 pp. \$4.50

Left Bank Books 36pp. 50 cents

THE ANARCHISTS IN THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION edited by Paul Avrich

The story of the Russian anarchists during the Revolution and Civil War (1917-21) told by the participants themselves. Included are articles and manifestos, speeches and resolutions, letters and diaries, poems and songs. Includes an introduction and commentary by Avrich.

Cornell U. Press 179 pp. \$4.00

Revolts Against Stalinism

THE STRIKE IN GDANSK, AUGUST 1980

Edited and translated by Andrzej Tymowski

This short history chronicles the strike which marked the beginning of the Polish explosion. Contains accounts of the event taken from strike bulletins, Solidarity newspapers and interviews. Also, a critical Afterword on Solidarity since the strike.

Don't Hold Back 50 pp. \$2.75

REVOLT IN SOCIALIST YUGOSLAVIA JUNE 1968 by Fredy Perlman

A first-hand account of a witness to the student and worker revolts which shook Yugoslavia the same year as the more famous French events. This English account was translated into Serbian the following year and published in the newspaper *Student*, which figures prominently in the account. The entire press run was confiscated by the authorities and burned. The only mention ever made to the incident was an article in the communist party paper which noted that a "CIA" instigated report of the revolt had been discovered.

Black & Red 24pp. \$7.50

Polish city of Szczecin graphically illustrates what this pamphlet is really about: the hatred of the people for their rulers. . . . Suddenly every thing became quite clear: 'An extra exploited class rose against a ruling class, exposing the real social relations and shattering all mystifications. . . . The rulers had only one alternative: to recognize that it was workers who were fighting for their material life and ultimately for their total liberation. The implicit recognition of the workers' demands co-existed with brutal repression.' (from our original review of the book)

Black & Red 117pp. \$1.50

THE WORKING CLASS UPRISING IN EAST GERMANY, JUNE 1953: Class Struggle Against Bolshevism

by Cajo Brendel

An exciting account written weeks after the massive workers' assault on the E. German Stalinist state. Rather than just a few heroic workers throwing rocks at tanks, it was an uprising which shook the state to its core and involved 100's of thousands who wanted neither Ulbricht nor Adenauer.

Echanges et Mouvement/London 26pp. \$1

HUNGARY '56

by Andy Anderson

The Hungarian Revolution of 1956 has always been trumpeted by the West as "proof" that people bridling under "communism" desire instead capitalist life. Anderson's thorough account of the October events gives the full panorama of the revolt against the stalinist bureaucracy which contained the potential for universal forms of freedom—the workers' councils. The text and the excellent photos bring events to life rich with humans in a fight for freedom.

Solidarity/Black & Red 138pp. \$1.75

in a peaceful demonstration and was set upon by Israeli soldiers who beat him and others assembled, was taken into custody, briefly, but released without charges.

Lawrence Hill & Co. 277pp. \$7.95

TELOS: A Quarterly Journal of Radical Thought Summer 1983

Special section on the German Peace Movement including a debate on whether its foundation is in Neo-Nationalism or not, a long overdue rebuttal of some of the pro-NATO ravings of some Telos contributors, and a view of the East German Peace Movement. Also, "Stagflation and the New Right," "Corporatism in the U.S." and other articles on critical theory, philosophy, psychology and literature.

Telos Press 240pp. \$5.50

The FE Newsletter & Foreign Papers

Each bookorder we receive is sent out accompanied with a copy of the Fifth Estate Newsletter, a xeroxed inter-issue publication, containing updates, just received information and recently received books. It also has reprints from other publications and leaflets which we have been sent.

We also try to include as much free material as we have on hand up to the postal weight division. If you would like any foreign language publication, please indicate the country of interest and if available, it will be sent with your order.

This excellent collection contains many articles written for the anarchist journal *Freedom* by a participant in the sit-downs and marches against the Bomb in England during the late '50's and early '60's.

Freedom Press 168 pp. \$4.25

TO THE HONORABLE MISS S. . .

by B. Traven

Written under the name Ret Marut during the World War I years in Germany when Traven was editor of the anti-war paper *Der Ziegelbrenner* (The Brickburner). The fifteen stories foreshadow many of the libertarian and moral themes which would appear later in *THE TREASURE OF SIERRA MADRE*, *THE DEATH SHIP* and *THE WHITE ROSE*.

Lawrence Hill & Co. 149pp. \$5.95

THE WHITE ROSE

by B. Traven

In the clash between Mexican rural life and the power of American industrialism, Traven aptly illustrates what we have traded for the modern world. The book describes the discovery and exploitation of Mexico's oil resources by the rapacious giants of the U.S. oil industry and the destruction of a Mexican Indian hacienda, *La Rosa Blanca*, which stood in their way.

Lawrence Hill & Co. 209pp. HardCover

Published at \$8.95; now \$5.95

THE END OF ANARCHISM?

by Luigi Galleani

Initially conceived of as a rebuttal, it developed into an eloquent expression of Galleani's anarchist-communism, which remains radical and relevant to this day. The union and organization compromises embraced by so many contemporary anarchists are roundly denounced while support for the concept of armed insurrection and the propaganda of the dead receive sympathetic treatment. This edition contains an introduction by Max Sartin, a collaborator of Galleani's and editor of *L'Adunata dei Fratelli*, the last major Italian anarchist journal of North America which was published for fifteen years, 1922-1971.

Cienfuegos \$4.00

SOCIETY OF THE SPECTACLE

by Guy Debord

Newly reprinted by Black & Red, this major situationist work traces the process in modern societies whereby all that was once lived directly has now moved into a representation.

Black & Red 221 Theses \$2.00

BULLDOZER Issue No. 6 Summer 1983

The Bulldozer (the only vehicle for prison reform) collective produced this issue in the midst of a police raid on their living quarters (see p. 3 this issue and last) which resulted in much of the material for it being confiscated. It may be their best to date both graphically and editorially. They are certainly in touch with prisoners who can eloquently express the prison experience with strength and pathos. Also, a full report on police harassment. We suggest you write directly to them for the issue as a show of support at Box 5052, Stn A, Toronto, Ont. M5W 1W4 Canada.

P.S.C. Publishers 48pp. \$1.00
(Also available from FE Books. Back issues of Bulldozer from either address.)

THE WILHELMSHAVEN REVOLT

by Icarus

The story of the revolutionary movement in the German Navy in 1918-1919. Cienfuegos Press 32pp. \$1.25

NEW ARRIVALS

1984



The LEFT BANK ANTI-AUTHORITARIAN 1984 CALENDAR

A big hit last year, the 1984 calendar features all new multi-color graphics and new data on the themes of 1984, Orwell, Animal Farm, utopia, and anti-utopia.

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